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# THE INSIDE STORY



Party chair Bill Brock devised the Republicans' comeback strategy.

## State and local races key to Republican plan

By Phillip Johnson

Right-wing Republicans are pressuring Ronald Reagan to fire party chairman Bill Brock. But, as many of the nation's more sophisticated left organizers realize, to their chagrin, he's doing a great job for his party.

Leftists and just plain Democrats have been slow to wake up to the Republican comeback engineered by Brock and his pragmatic lieutenants within the GOP. Reagan and the ascendant New Right may have received all the attention, but they are only the froth on the "political tidal wave" that Jack Kemp promised Republicans at their Detroit convention. A Republican surge at the grass-roots level—state legislatures and even city councils—has been building since the former Tennessee senator stepped into the party leadership four years ago.

Under Brock, Republican strategists have been carefully targeting state and local races the party can win. A Local Election Campaign Division, with 30 full-time staffers at Republican National Committee headquarters, has been established to channel money and expertise to local candidates throughout the country. (The Democrats have no corresponding local division, and not even a single staff member specializing in state-level elections.) The GOP has raised a reported \$6.5 million for local elections in three years, and expects to spend \$4 million this year alone in its campaign to control state legislatures.

The Republican drive at the state and local levels has

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already been dramatically successful. Since Brock took over as party chairman, Republicans have gained 358 seats in state legislatures around the country, and have increased the number of state houses in GOP hands from 12 to 19. Republicans now control 30 state legislatures, and Republican strategists are predicting more for 1981. "There has been an enormous vacuum in state legislative races," says Lee Webb of the Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies. "The Republicans identified that vacuum and moved into it with a vengeance.... They have been incredibly successful."

"They're just doing a very good political job," adds former Vermont assemblyman Tom Bonnett. Bonnett studied the GOP local strategy as a graduate student, and has since joined Webb's organization as a consultant.

The Republicans' state-level drive this year is particularly significant because state legislatures convening in 1981 will be responsible for reapportionment based on the recent census, and reapportionment will have a big effect on both state legislatures and the House of Representatives throughout the '80s.

"Reapportionment is the forgotten issue of the 1980 campaign," laments Tom Bonnett.

### The war for the states.

There is an irony in the Republicans' success at the state and local level—they learned their techniques from the Democrats and from unions and left organizations.

As Bill Dodds, executive director of the Progressive Alliance, acknowledges, "They modeled after us—but so did the Japanese model after America. Need I say more?" Dodds' labor-based organization has been making a belated effort to rouse a left response to the Republican thrust.

A network of New Right groups has come into being within the past decade that serves as the source of both funding and campaign expertise for growing numbers of conservative candidates. These organizations range from political fundraisers, such as the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) and the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, to lobbying and pressure groups like the National Right to Work Committee and the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), to rapidly multiplying issue crusades like Stop ERA, Save Our Children and the Moral Majority.

The Republicans have also benefited from a creature bred by the 1972 election reform laws—the corporate political action committee. Similar committees in the labor unions have been effective campaign spenders for decades. But since the 1972 reforms legalized them, corporate PACs have increased in number from 430 in 1976 to 1,127 at last report. (During the same period, the number of labor PACs fell from 303 to 276.)

This is expected to be the first year when business (aside from individuals) outspends labor in backing candidates. Corporate PACs are expected to contribute about \$19 million to various campaign chests. More significantly, corporations are targeting their contributions for state and local races where they can have the greatest direct impact. Most of this support goes to Republicans, although less overwhelmingly than with New Right groups, because corporations tend to give to incumbents, regardless of party.

The mainspring of the Republican renaissance, however, is Bill Brock's Local Election Campaign Division. When Brock took over after the 1976 election, the GOP was still reeling from the Nixon years. The "Watergate election" of 1974 was widely publicized as the Republican nadir, because of dramatic Democratic

gains in Congress that year. But the damage had already been done in 1972 by Nixon's reelection campaign. In rolling over George McGovern, Nixon and his presidential campaign drew all the Republican funds, leaving local candidates to fend for themselves.

In what should have been a GOP as well as a Nixon landslide in 1972, Republicans lost 692 seats in the nation's legislatures and ended up with only 12 governorships and control of a mere 16 out of 98 partisan legislative chambers (Nebraska has a single, non-partisan house).

Under Brock's guidance, the party quickly abandoned this exclusively presidential focus. In 1978, it spent some \$1 million on local races, a modest sum by national standards, but enough to make a difference in state elections where a few thousand dollars represents a large percentage of a campaign budget.

There were immediate results. The party won back 275 legislative seats in 1978, along with a handful of governorships. This success made it easier for the party's organizers to recruit strong candidates for 1980.

### The 1980 offensive.

But direct spending is only part of the party's grass-roots offensive. The national headquarters also supplies a wide range of services to GOP candidates and their campaign managers. A team of field workers fans across the country taking surveys, distributing materials and training candidates. According to RNC field coordinator Ben Spencer, two or three training seminars for candidates and their managers have been held in most states, and in some as many as five.

The Republicans are choosing their primary targets with care. Many of the Democrats' majorities in state legislatures are highly vulnerable. In states such as Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Washington, California and Oregon the Republicans are making serious bids to win majorities in one or both houses that have heretofore been controlled by Democrats. Republican strategists calculate that a switch of 26 targeted seats in various legislatures would give the GOP control of 12 more chambers; a gain of 125 specific seats could bring 25 additional chambers under Republican control.

The basic Republican goal in 1980, as their "Majority '80" slogan indicates, is to win control of 50 state legislative chambers, along with several additional governorships. The more enthusiastic forecasters within GOP ranks think it possible that the party will gain the 59 congressional seats it would need to gain a majority in the U.S. House of Representatives. All this would put the Republicans in the catbird seat when the reapportionment process begins early next year.

"We're in a desperate attempt to catch up," says Bill Dodds of the Progressive Alliance. "The people left of center tend to get organized late on most things. ... It's one of those kinds of problems that require structured organization and we just don't get started."

There isn't much time left to organize in response to the four-year drive engineered by Bill Brock and the Republicans. "We're trying to work in some of the states," says Bill Dodds frankly, "but it's late, and we're not going as skillfully at it as the Republicans."

The only concrete advice Tom Bonnett can offer leftists is to "start to agitate now on reapportionment." Dodds concurs. It's essential to gear up now, he urges, even if only a limited amount can be accomplished before November, "because if we don't get educated this fall, we'll have a harder time next spring."

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# Looking for space in the center

By John Judis

WASHINGTON

**I**N THE LAST MONTH, JOHN ANDERSON has put the finishing touches on his unique presidential effort. He has put New York City political consultant David Garth fully in charge. He has appointed Edward Kennedy's deputy campaign manager, former Governor Patrick Lucey, as his running mate. And he has issued a 317-page platform that puts him slightly to the left of Carter, but not enough to avoid identity problems.

Garth's ascendancy was controversial within the Anderson camp. Anderson's primary campaign had largely been run by his congressional aides and by allies drawn from the Ripon Society. They had wanted Anderson to run a "grass-roots" presidential campaign, relying heavily on local precinct operations. But Garth stressed television as the key to the campaign. "For every person a person in the field reaches, a commercial reaches 100," Garth aide and Anderson press secretary Mike Rosenbaum explained. "You have to get the biggest bang for your buck."

With the campaign in financial crisis—a crisis later alleviated by a Federal Election Commission ruling that Anderson would be eligible retroactively for matching funds—Anderson put Garth, who had formerly been referred to as his "media consultant," in charge of the entire campaign. Garth told Anderson's local offices that they could expect no more funds from the national campaign. They would either become self-sufficient or close down. In protest, three of Anderson's top officials quit.

In late August, Anderson chose former Wisconsin governor Lucey as his running mate. His Ripon aides had reportedly urged him to choose former senator Edward Brooke, now a Washington lawyer and a long-time Anderson supporter, but Garth wanted a Democrat who could attract Democratic votes in the Northeast.

## The corporate liberal.

In early September, Anderson issued his platform. Unlike the other candidates' platforms, which reflected compromises among interest groups within the parties, Anderson's platform is strictly his own, and he will have to stand by its every word. The platform shows Anderson still poised between free-market economics and the influence of corporate liberal Democrats like Felix Rohatyn and Garth. (Rohatyn, an early Anderson backer, has defected to Jimmy Carter with Anderson's slippage in the polls.)

Rohatyn's proposal for a new Reconstruction Finance Corporation appears, in modified form, as a proposal for an Industrial Development Administration (IDA) that would fund the development of new technology. His proposal for a new "social contract" between labor, business and government appears as a proposal for an Industrial Development Council in which labor, business and government representatives would oversee the full range of economic policies.

Anderson's platform also contains a proposal for a Wage-Price Incentives Program, according to which the tax system would be used to persuade employers to meet certain wage-price guidelines.

Anderson's principal economic spokesman, former congressional aide Robert Walker, denies that the proposal for an IDA amounts to government planning. "I wouldn't call it government planning," Walker said. "We don't want to get in the business of funding the winning industries."

But Garth aide Rosenbaum insists that Anderson remains a planning advocate. "He's not backed away from planning," Rosenbaum said. "The whole point of

his Industrial Development Administration is reindustrialization."

Anderson has also modified his support of a special minimum wage for teenagers (the "teenwage") and his opposition to the Chrysler bailout. Instead of the teenwage, Anderson now favors Northwestern University economist Robert Eisner's proposal for reductions in the payroll tax of employers who hire unemployed teenagers.

Anderson aide Walker denies that Anderson has repudiated his stand on the Chrysler bailout, but his platform pledges that he "will not allow the Detroit and the Youngtowns of this nation to die." Anderson also has taken up an old Kennedy proposal for refunding rather than crediting the investment tax credit when it applies to corporations like Chrysler operating at a loss. This proposal for a refundable tax credit amounts to an indirect government subsidy, as its conservative opponents have often pointed out.

Anderson's change on both these issues reflects the influence of Garth as well as his experiences in the campaign. His proposal for a teenwage met with icy silence when he spoke before the Urban League last month. Cynics could argue that given another six months of presi-

dential campaigning—if the election were postponed until April 1981—Anderson would end up a clone of Edward Kennedy.

Anderson's foreign policy has not changed dramatically since the beginning of his campaign, but that of his opponents has. Anderson now stands as the only defender of the Cyrus Vance-Paul Warnke foreign policies of the early Carter administration. His platform reads like position papers from the early Carter administration.

Alton Frye, on leave from being the Washington director of the Council on Foreign Relations, supervised the platform drafting. Noted left critics of Amer-

## Anderson's platform reads like position papers from the early Carter administration.



ican foreign policy like Southeast Asia expert Gareth Porter contributed to particular sections.

The platform rejects the Committee on the Present Danger's view that the West has been outstripped by the Soviet military buildup. "Measured against the resources, skills and capacities of the West," the platform states, "the Soviet Union is the far weaker force." It calls for immediate ratification of SALT II and negotiations on SALT III as a means of preserving Soviet-American "essential equivalence" in strategic forces. It opposes the building of the MX, and calls for a strategy of "mutual restraint." (In his speeches, Anderson has been roundly critical of the counterforce strategy contained in Presidential Directive 59.)

The platform calls for dealing with Third World countries as "sovereign and independent states" rather than "as clients and as suppliers." It warns that "it would be a grave mistake to blame the current political crises in Central America on Cuban subversion.... The best antidote to Cuba's promotion of revolution is a region of sound, popular, democratic governments—not an armed camp of military dictators."

But the platform is ambiguous on the possibilities of American intervention abroad. It calls for prepositioning military equipment in Europe that could be used "to meet threats to stability in the Persian Gulf region." It also warns that American interests "require consistent attention to the Third World through economic and political measures, and where appropriate, through prudent and effective defense programs."

One Anderson foreign policy adviser was puzzled by these sections in the platform. "I don't understand it," the adviser said. "He hasn't supported an interventionist stance on any specific issues." But Alton Frye thought it was consistent with Anderson's basic stance. "He doesn't think we can walk away from the world," Frye said.

Of course, this is the Carter State Department view: use peaceful means and democratic capitalist ideals to preserve American power and prestige in the world; use military force as the last (and invariably unnecessary) resort. This view left Vance and others open to the charge that their means were not suited to accomplishing their ends.

## Identity crisis.

Anderson's dilemma in the general election will be to avoid being seen as a spoiler. To do this, he will have to establish himself in second place so that the contest is no longer between Carter and Reagan. On the level of program and image, his problem is to occupy the center without seeming like another Carter.

Anderson's foreign policy positions are more dovish than Jimmy Carter's, but to those most concerned with foreign policy, the differences between Carter and Anderson seem to pale before those between Anderson and Reagan. Hawks are therefore likely to support Reagan and doves Carter.

On economic policy, Anderson has been more willing than Carter to put his foot in the icy waters of advanced corporate liberalism, but these differences will largely be ignored by the voting public. On immediate economic issues—job bills, tax cuts, balanced budgets, government regulation of the environment and workplace—Anderson is a clone of Carter.

Ironically, Anderson is quickly being reduced to making the same argument for his candidacy that Edward Kennedy made for his last fall: he is more competent and a better leader than Jimmy Carter. With Carter already in the White House and able to use the federal government to make a case for his leadership powers, Anderson, like Kennedy, will have difficulty making this case. ■



## IN SHORT

## Con jobs

Have you noticed that the bleeding hearts who like to knock the American criminal justice system will turn around and ignore its success at rehabilitating white-collar criminals? The most notable cases involve top corporate execs who have been convicted of or implicated in crimes like price-fixing and securities fraud. *Ammo*, a monthly publication of the UAW, recently printed a partial list of those elite offenders who were caught between 1971 and 1978. Half of them were later taken back into the fold of their parent companies. George Steinbrenner's comeback was typical: a short time after he was fined \$15,000 for making illegal campaign contributions, the Yankees skipper and chairman of the American Ship Building Co. was back at the helm.

It could make a grown entrepreneur weep for joy at living in America, where the number of millionaires has reportedly grown to 574,342. But the top dogs seem to have mixed feelings about our economy's future, judging from a survey of summer reading conducted by *Business Week*. While, for example, Chase Manhattan president Willard Butcher browsed through Irving Kristol's *Two Cheers for Capitalism*, Charles B. "Tex" Thornton, chairman of Litton Industries, was poring over Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

## The dumps

From scenic Guam comes word of Japanese intentions to dump some 10,000 drums of low-level nuclear wastes into the Pacific Ocean, with the U.S. expected to follow suit. On Aug. 9, Nagasaki Day, the newly-formed Marianas Alliance Against Nuclear Dumping led a small protest march through tourist-filled streets and beaches. Seven thousand residents have signed a petition opposing the planned disposal, which is set for the middle of next year. The once unpolluted waters are already infested with Trident submarines.

Meanwhile, in Nicaragua, a chemical plant run by the Philadelphia-based company Pennwalt, Inc., has dumped 40 tons of mercury into Lake Managua, a major source of fish and of drinking water for the country's capital. More than one-third of the plant's 152 workers now suffer from mercury poisoning, according to an article in the *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*. To find the source of the poison, scientists used the year-old government's first industrial pollution detection equipment, paid for by an American solidarity group. Tax-deductible contributions for more health supplies (made out to "H.A.N.D.-Medical Aid") should be sent to Medical Aid for Nicaragua-New York, Casa Nicaragua, P.O. Box 612, New York, NY 10025.

## The New Math

A week after the Boston *Globe* printed the results of its nationwide registration survey, which found that one-quarter of the 4 million eligible men failed to sign up for the draft ("In Short," Sept. 10), the Selective Service System rushed out with its own figures. The compliance rate, said SSS head Bernard Rostker, was actually 93 percent. The *Guardian* reports that Rev. Barry Lynn, chair of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft, has asked the General Accounting Office to conduct an independent audit of Rostker's statistics.

## Party time

Here are some numbers from a recent California poll of 1,200 registered voters commissioned by KRON-TV in San Francisco and KABC-TV in L.A.: 1 percent were ready to vote for Citizens Party presidential candidate Barry Commoner, 3 percent for Libertarian Ed Clark, 15 percent for John Anderson, 23 percent for Carter and 39 percent for ex-governor Ronnie Reagan. (Nineteen percent were just hanging out.) Commoner has a definite name-recognition problem—75 percent of those polled had never heard of him (compared to 46 percent for Clark, who has done this before). Sixteen percent had heard of Commoner but had formed no opinion about him, 6 percent disagreed with his positions and 3 percent agreed with him. The poll found both Clark and Commoner running strongest among young voters in Northern California, although the Libertarian candidate appealed to the upper-income members of that group while Commoner attracted the poorer folk.

On the local level, all three Citizens Party candidates for the University of Illinois' controversial Board of Trustees were endorsed by the Independent Voters of Illinois-Independent Precinct Organization. This political group had always supported candidates from the "major" parties in local elections, but disgust with the trustees' tuition and admissions policies led the Independent Voters to back the candidates of the new party in town.

—Josh Kornbluth



Clara Fraser

## Fired organizer sues Seattle electric utility

SEATTLE—In this city, the seemingly impenetrable fortress of City Hall is threatened by a tenacious woman who has fought for five years to prove that Seattle's Department of Lighting management fired her from her job as Education Coordinator in 1975 because of her radical political beliefs—and because she is a woman.

Clara Fraser, a 57-year-old community organizer, is suing City Light—Seattle's electric utility and one of the country's largest—for violation of her right to free speech. And she is testing a section of Seattle's Fair Employment Practices ordinance that forbids discrimination on the basis of political ideology. Fraser was represented by the city's Human Rights Department.

During five months of courtroom testimony, hearing examiner Sally Pasette became convinced that City Light management deliberately and relentlessly discriminated against Fraser because of her socialist-feminist beliefs. Pasette ruled that Fraser's consistent support of affirmative action and her outspoken criticism of management's unfair labor practices were activities protected under the First Amendment.

City Light's claim that Fraser was fired because of a budget reduction was shown to be "a pretext for illegal employment discrimination." Pasette ordered Fraser's reinstatement at the utility and awarded her \$58,101 in damages and back pay.

Hearing panelist Elizabeth Ponder—a black community activist schooled in discrimination law—supported Pasette, and added that Fraser had been harassed because she is female. But victory was stalled when the two remaining panelists, both white, non-working women unfamiliar with discrimination law, overturned Pasette's decision.

Fraser is now appealing the panel's decision in the King County Superior Court of Washington.

Though founded by socialists as a public power utility, City Light was run under the paramilitary

thumb of Superintendent Gordon Vickery by the time Fraser was hired in 1973.

Fraser's job was to develop, implement and monitor an innovative Electrical Trades Trainees (ETT) program to qualify women of color and white women for skilled trade positions at the utility. But her activism soon led her into conflict with Vickery and his aides.

When Vickery abruptly canceled many of the training department's previously approved programs, Fraser sympathized with those employees who resented the superintendent's move. In 1974, she joined workers in a wildcat strike and was elected to chair a negotiating team to write a "Bill of Rights" for City Light workers. And when 10 women trainees began work at City Light, Fraser became their advocate.

A rash of harassment, red-baiting and reprimands followed. Memos and management-initiated flyers charged Fraser with "prior affiliation" with some of the trainees, and of political affiliation with the Trotskyist-feminist Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women.

The witch-hunting that pursued Fraser during the walkout was resurrected during the hearing. The walkout was dubbed "communist-inspired" after Fraser's FBI files circulated among City Light management. And during the hearing, management witnesses denounced Fraser as "abrasive, disloyal, disruptive and disobedient."

Failing to eliminate Fraser through a contrived civil service exam, management simply fired her, claiming a 5 percent budget reduction.

The upcoming court decision on Fraser's appeal will have an historic impact on the rights of radicals, dissidents, critics, minorities, women and unionists to protest on-the-job totalitarianism.

Donations to the Fraser Legal Defense Fund should be sent in care of the United Feminist Front,

6019 S. Redwing, Seattle, Wash. 98118. Telephone (206) 632-7449.

—Kay Lee and Sandy Nelson

## Schools admit non-citizens

DALLAS—For the time being at least, the children of undocumented workers are receiving public school educations in Texas following a series of federal court rulings that climaxed a political controversy stretching over the greater part of the last decade. On Sept. 12, Governor William Clements reversed his earlier position and agreed to let the children start school three days later.

Though more than a dozen metropolitan school districts were at one time involved in state and federal suits over the enrollment of the "illegals," there was little protest from local school administrators this time over the decision by federal district judge Woodrow Seals to bring Texas in line with the other 49 states—and into compliance with the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Gov. Clements still plans to appeal Seals' ruling to the Supreme Court, citing the federal government's unwillingness to aid the economies of Texas localities that house a large number of Mexican nationals. This complaint was undoubtedly reinforced by President Carter on Sept. 15, when he told a Corpus Christi audience that the state should not expect additional education funding from Washington.

Proponents of the undocumented children's right to education counter that the issues are not economics and citizenship, but rather civil rights and the moral and constitutional obligation to provide quality education to all children regardless of race, wealth or the legal status of their parents.

School officials in Dallas estimate that more than 15,000 children now will be eligible for classes, which supports Texas attorney general Mark White's statewide survey finding of 100,000 undocumented children. But fewer than 700 non-citizens applied for entry into the Dallas school system following the widely publicized injunction issued against the district in their favor on Sept. 12.

Meanwhile, the superintendent of schools in Houston—hundreds of miles closer to the Mexico border than Dallas, and home to many times the number of undocumented workers—guessed that only 5,000-7,000 children would be involved in the decision locally.

But there is a loophole in the court order: a school district may be exempted if it can prove "financial and resource" hardship, including the lack of adequate staffing and facilities. Pro-education advocates are quick to point out that undocumented workers, including those with no children in Texas, are helping to finance schools through a multitude of local, state and federal taxes.

The entire judicial question could become irrelevant if Mexican-Americans and their liberal supporters have their way. They are expected to introduce legislation in 1981 to amend the state education code, which was altered in 1975 by voice vote to include citizenship as a qualification for enrollment in state-financed schools.

—Gray McBride



By Connie Paige

BOSTON

## IN THE NATION

## ELECTIONS

## Voters unswayed by church appeal

**T**HIS IS A STORY ABOUT TWO men and two acts of God. One of the men is Barney Frank. You don't know him. He's running for Congress from Massachusetts. He's also one of the more liberal politicians ever to come out of the state. The other is Father Robert Drinan, the Jesuit and current officeholder from the district. Him you do know. So, apparently, does the Deity. Recently two of His earthly representatives made His wishes on the race perfectly clear: back in May, Pope John Paul II forbade Drinan from seeking reelection, many assumed for his stand on abortion; after Drinan had dutifully resigned and thrown his weight behind candidate Frank, Archbishop Humberto Cardinal Medeiros urged Catholics in a public letter not to vote for him.

Harking back to the days when each priest ruled as a minor deity in his own parish, the church in Massachusetts has re-emerged as a significant factor in politics. As in many such elections across the country, the issue this time may be abortion, but its bold new constituency—vocal, vigorous and very, generous with the pocketbook—is not stopping there. Already this campaign has begun to deliver the whole range of pro-family and conservative calling cards. Whether by accident or design, the church has put Barney Frank in a dead-heat race with the New Right.

The Frank candidacy would arouse less interest if it weren't for the peculiarity of the district and the history of its present representative. Robert Drinan is one of the most uncommon congress-

can remonstrate to irate constituents, so can they. For his behavior and his influence, Drinan was thought by conservatives to be treading dangerously close to the devil's playground.

"It's a scandal," fulminates Joseph Reilly, chairman of the board of the largest right-to-life organization in Massachusetts, Citizens for Life. "To my mind, Robert Drinan is the Roman Catholic answer to Rasputin."

The intervention of Massachusetts Citizens for Life in this race came as no surprise. It is one of the older and more vigorous of the right-to-life organizations around the country and the spawning ground of a number of national activists. Claiming a mailing list of about 60,000, the organization first flexed its muscles in 1974 by generating the unsuccessful manslaughter prosecution of a gynecologist, Kenneth Edelin, for his part in a late-term abortion. More recently it took credit for the defeats of Massachusetts Senator Edward Brooke and Governor Michael Dukakis, both

the same time, Clark's campaign began to consult with The Committee for Survival of a Free Congress, a Washington-based New Right think tank.

Like Drinan, Barney Frank is no ordinary politician. A native of Bayonne, N.J., he hardly fits the stereotype of the Boston pol. One of his early posters had a profile of a typically rumped Frank with the legend: "Neatness isn't everything." (He just recently lost enough weight to avoid the "full cut" counter in the men's department.) Frank gets away with the accent and the image because he's very smart and very funny.

Frank started in Massachusetts politics at the age of 27 as chief assistant to Boston mayor Kevin White, then considered one of the country's up-and-coming big-city liberal mayors. Frank left four years later to serve as administrative assistant to Congressman Michael Harrington from 1971 to '73. He then ran for state legislature from Boston's most chichi neighborhood, the Back Bay.

His voting record has been soundly

week before the election decided to play hardball. The Clark campaign had not only Frank's record to go on, but also the legitimate complaint that he'd moved from Boston to the district in order to run for the empty seat. Clark's people purchased radio time to air an ad describing Frank as a big-city candidate with little understanding of suburban issues, and challenging his sponsorship of a widely hailed but unsuccessful bill that would have contained prostitution to an area of Boston known as the Combat Zone. "Barney Frank wants to legalize prostitution," went the ad, disingenuously. "In Arthur Clark's opinion, nobody in the Fourth District wants to move the Combat Zone here. Just because Barney has moved to the district doesn't mean he has changed what he stands for." Accompanying the thesis was a voice-over of a woman repeating the words "racial pressure, busing, prostitution, combat zone." Frank called the ad an "irresponsible" effort to "exploit racial tension in a metropolitan area when people are actually being killed." Clark replied meekly by saying the voice-over was a mistake.

But even the gutter tactics left Frank in the lead. An early poll gave him an 8 percent edge, with 24 percent of the voters undecided. That was where the Cardinal came in.

The Cardinal's letter, released five days before the primary, was simple and direct: "Those who make abortions possible by law—such as legislators and those who promote, defend and elect these same lawmakers—cannot separate themselves totally from that guilt that accompanies this horrendous crime and deadly sin." The letter was mailed to all the parishes in the diocese, and printed on the front page of the church paper,

**Even with the awesome support of the diocese, the New Right could not deliver.**

*The Pilot.*

The Cardinal never mentioned Frank's record but the letter followed closely an open appeal to Drinan signed by 30 clergymen and Monsignor Leo Battista, director of Catholic Charities in the district. Battista's message, mailed to a number of private homes and passed out in churches, was explicit: "Barney Frank," it said, "has been the sponsor of legislation which we strongly believe is a direct threat to the Judeo-Christian family." Battista concluded by asking Drinan to reconsider his support of Frank. By implication, the Cardinal seemed to be doing the same thing.

At the same time, right-to-life groups were organizing drops of an estimated 100,000 leaflets revealing the cooperation between church and movement on at least the local level. A Citizens for Life director, Mildred Jefferson, and an area priest held a press conference together to comment on the contest.

But despite all this activity, Frank won—by about 6 percent, according to the preliminary count. With victory all but assured, Frank somewhat modestly claimed that "other issues were more important to the voters than abortion." That comforting analysis may overlook a good deal. The church's follies may have backfired only because they were too intense or came too late. Unusually light voter turnout may not have accurately reflected the thinking of the electorate. The withdrawal of Shaffer and the 11th-hour switch to Clark may have interrupted conservative momentum. Finally, Frank still has to defeat an uncontested Republican who may also receive considerable outside help.

Still, the election gives some indication that New Right forces, even with the awesome parallel support of the diocese in a state as church-bound as Massachusetts, have not yet developed the organizational ability to deliver votes. Whether that means the votes are not there it is too soon to say.

Connie Paige is a Boston writer.



Church attacks on Frank may have backfired because they were too intense or came too late.

men ever to have set foot in the Capitol. He first ran for office in 1970 against incumbent Philip Philbin, a 28-year veteran of the House, in a grossly gerrymandered district that has conservative working-class Irish Catholics in the western industrial towns and wealthier liberal Jews in the suburbs of Boston. Drinan made the war in Vietnam the primary issue of the campaign, playing on Philbin's hawkish role as a member of the House Armed Services Committee. Until 1974, he was the only priest (there were a number of Protestant clergy) ever to serve in Congress.

But Drinan isn't any old priest. The first thing he does upon arriving at the office is to tug off the clerical collar and don a sports shirt. Occasionally the collar can be seen later around the neck of the office mascot, a large black dog.

Watergate and impeachment were two of Drinan's early issues. These days he is in the forefront on abortion. Astonishing for a priest, Drinan has argued that the government has no business imposing the beliefs of some, particularly those in the church, on everyone else. If a priest can say that, his more tentative colleagues

influential pro-choice politicians. Pro-choice advocates tend to regard those claims as overblown, but there is no doubt that right-to-life targeting of a candidate can work. Regardless of their aim in Drinan's case, he was hit; Drinan's superiors informed him that the Pope wanted no more priests in elected office. Regretfully, Drinan resigned.

The print was barely dry on the press release when no fewer than 12 hopefuls announced their candidacies, with the field evenly divided between liberals and conservatives who effectively cancelled each other out. For a while, it looked as if the primary would go to Frank for his greater visibility. But one by one the contenders dropped out. Remaining with just two weeks to go were only Arthur Clark, a local mayor, Robert Shaffer, an affirmed right-to-lifer, and Frank. When Shaffer threw in the towel, the anti-abortion forces that had been the mainstay of his support quickly switched to Clark. Their backing revived a languorous campaign. "It brings tears to my eyes," remarked Clark's campaign manager to the *Boston Globe* of the right-to-lifers. "They do everything right." About

liberal, though not flawless. Blacks, women, gays, the elderly, environmentalists and the poor could almost always count on him. If he didn't deliver, he usually had a reason.

Initially, Frank was also blameless on economic issues, though recently he has begun to show a more maverick side. Much to the surprise of his supporters, he backed a restrictive reporting system for welfare recipients on the grounds of the state's high error rate in payments. He also attacked the state's extensive public transportation agency, the Massachusetts Bay Transit Authority (MBTA), and the union representing its workers as "a waste and a disgrace." Certainly, Boston's subways could use some attention, but the veiled Polish joke in his campaign literature is typical of his inordinate bile toward the union: "Consider the MBTA for a moment," it says. "Work rules that require three people to change a single fuse (two to carry the ladder, one to supervise)."

If many liberals winced at these indiscretions, conservatives never even noticed. Bolstered by fresh support and money, challenger Arthur Clark one



## Reporters staked out the general store in Scotland to interview anyone coming in to buy a loaf of bread.

By David Morse

SCOTLAND, CONN.

"OUR POWER," proclaimed Bill Wilkinson, Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, "exceeds our numbers." Wilkinson's boast was delivered from a stepladder wrapped with canvas tarp and set up as a temporary platform in a cow pasture in Scotland, Conn. The occasion was the first Klan rally in this state in more than 50 years, advertised in flyers saying "Free to white public—Bring the whole family!"

Wilkinson wore a dark three-piece suit. Sharing the platform with him were robed Klansmembers, one of whom introduced him in a clipped new-south drawl, adding, "I'm glad to see that the state of Connecticut has finally woke up!"

Wilkinson's own speech by contrast was correct, almost urbane, and carefully calculated. He believed, he said, "America first. Not Africa. Not England. But America."

"Tell it, brother!"

"White power!"

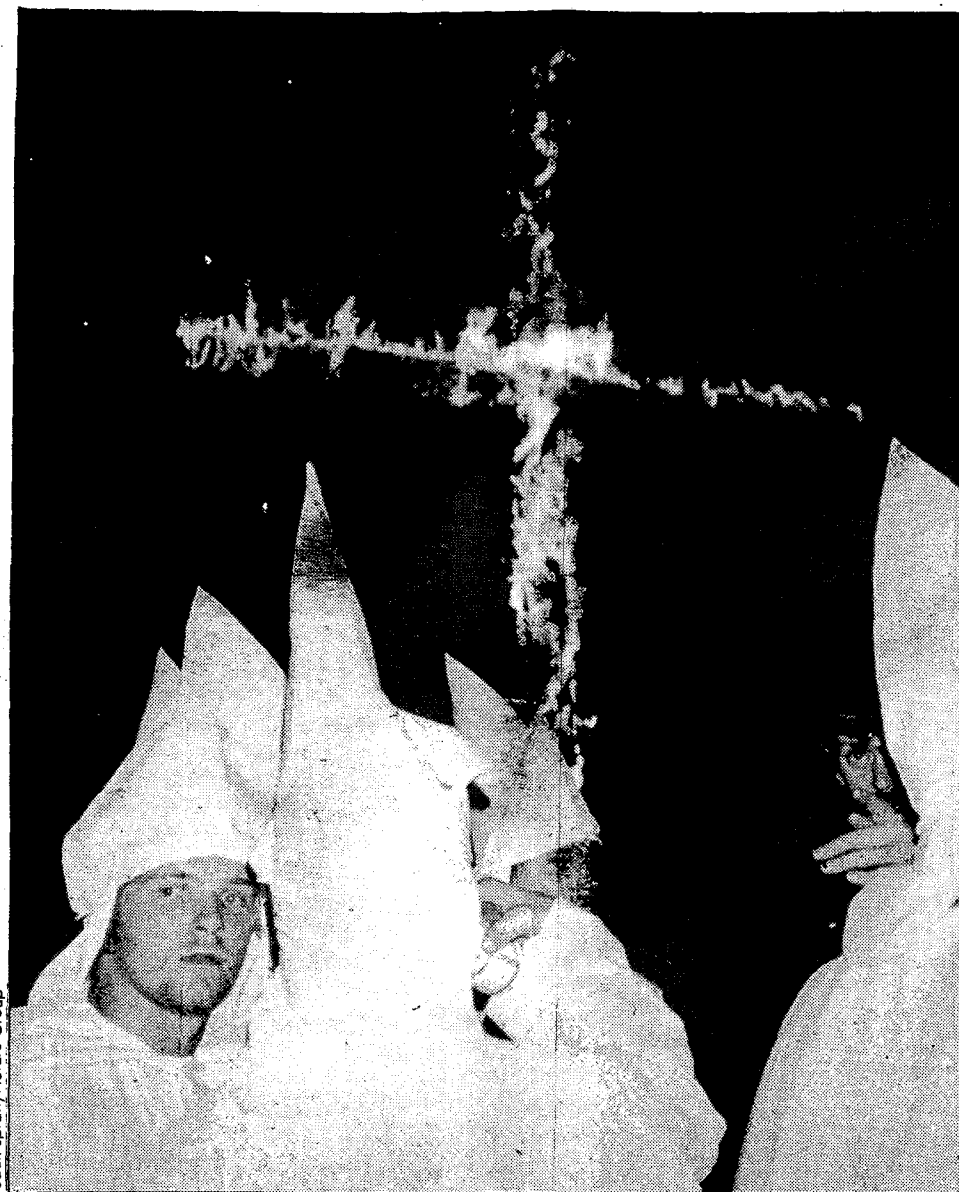
Thanking the local "Klansmen and Klansladies" for their many preparations that required them to "put their very lives, their jobs, and their futures on the line," he went on to attack high taxes, government spending, busing and affirmative action. And as the crowd warmed up, the isolated shouts of support gave rise to a more general swell of approval.

Few people who attended either the Klan rally, which drew more than 200 people from surrounding communities, or the counter-demonstrations that brought nearly 700 protestors to the Scotland town green, would have argued with Wilkinson's assessment of the Klan's influence. By the time the event had ended, Wilkinson had proved himself a master at using the media.

Efforts had been made by townspeople in Scotland to stop the rally; but the board of selectmen voted not to attempt to interfere with the Klan's right to free speech. The land was owned by Francis T. Rood, who at first denied and then confirmed that he had leased it to the Klan for the occasion.

Once the news was out that the town would be serving as unwilling host to the Klan, Scotland was besieged by journalists. Fisher's, the general store cum gas pumps that shares the north end of the small triangular town green with the church and volunteer fire department, bore the brunt of the journalists' invasion. AP, Liberation News Service, Newsweek, the New York Times, the Boston Globe, even the San Diego Sun, to say nothing of every daily in the state and virtually every campus paper in southern New England, compounded by five or six television crews, were all there, asking directions and photographing the brass plaque on the town green and interviewing "typical Scotland residents." The 1,500 town residents couldn't buy a loaf of bread at Fisher's without being interviewed.

In the meantime, various groups were organizing counter protests. Moderate groups including the NAACP opted to hold vigils in their respective cities. Others carried the protests to the town of Scotland. Buses were organized by the militant Committee against Racism (CAR) and its international counterpart, InCAR, of which University of Connec-



Jack Spratt/Picture Group

### CIVIL RIGHTS

## Klan rally disrupts New England town

ticut faculty member Toby Schwartz is national co-chair. But because members of CAR, and in particular InCAR, espouse violence, a number of individuals chose to affiliate themselves with a broader ad-hoc group called Coalition against the Klan, which Mike Ziesing helped organize.

Ziesing and others were determined to make their presence felt in Scotland. They were equally determined to avoid

violence, so the coalition plan was to remain in Scotland town green and listen to speeches and music rather than march to the actual site of the Klan rally one mile away.

By Saturday, Sept. 13, the day scheduled for the rally, Fisher's was refusing to serve journalists. A number of residents had packed suitcases; others stayed inside. One woman living near the Rood

farm was spraying her house with a garden hose.

Fire was one of the biggest fears. "The Klan has a reputation for starting fires," observed Alice O'Donovan, "and it doesn't always stay in one place." Alice O'Donovan is a 35-year-old mother of three, a lay minister and a member of the volunteer fire department whose irrepressible good humor has made her a mainstay among the beleaguered volunteers. "It's the counter-demonstrators I'm worried about," she said—a view commonly held in the community, along with a feeling that the media had blown everything out of proportion.

"What are the chances of violence, do you think?" It was, I knew, the tiresome, the inevitable question. "Well, I look at it this way," O'Donovan replied. "You've got the 5 percent of the bell curve here, and 5 percent over here, and it's very seldom you get them together. And of course we would like to keep them apart. So you've got that, and I suppose you could really say that you've got a situation of conflicting rights. The Klan has its right to demonstrate, so have the counter-demonstrators; and you've got the people of Scotland, who have rights. I'm angry that I have to spend a weekend on preparations so that some idiot can burn a cross and some other idiot can try to stop him. So there isn't anybody loves anybody around here."

### Violence on both sides.

O'Donovan's bell curve came to mind—became almost palpable—in the early evening.

Up on the hill at the Rood place, the Klan rally was about to begin. At a checkpoint near the gate the police were searching incoming cars for weapons over the protests of the Klan, which was appealing a Friday order by State Judge Joseph F. Dannehy that restrained all persons from carrying firearms or other dangerous weapons. The search turned up a few Buck knives and some pistols.

In a field across the road, state police cars were parked in neat rows, their top flashers glowing blue in the setting sun. Dogs lounged with their handlers. A helicopter fluttered into view occasionally.

A few Klan supporters were still straggling in—a 650 Honda bike, a lumbering Chevy sedan starting to rust, a white Corvette, a Camaro with a U.S. Navy bumpersticker. The tags were from Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey. Muscular young men wearing t-shirts saying "The Invisible Empire of the Ku Klux Klan" held out gallon plastic milk jugs asking for contributions.

Meanwhile, on the green, the speeches were becoming more inflammatory. Several participants thought the idea of a peaceful vigil was being jeopardized. A Wesleyan University group of about 150 formally disassociated itself from CAR and returned to the buses.

By 6 p.m. the CAR groups had left the green and were marching up the road with banners proclaiming "Death to the Klan" and "Smash the Klan, Scum of the Land."

Somewhere in the middle, a skinny man dressed in a black t-shirt and black pants taunted the CAR people with shouts of "Boo! Boo!" egging them on—almost good-naturedly—to come closer.

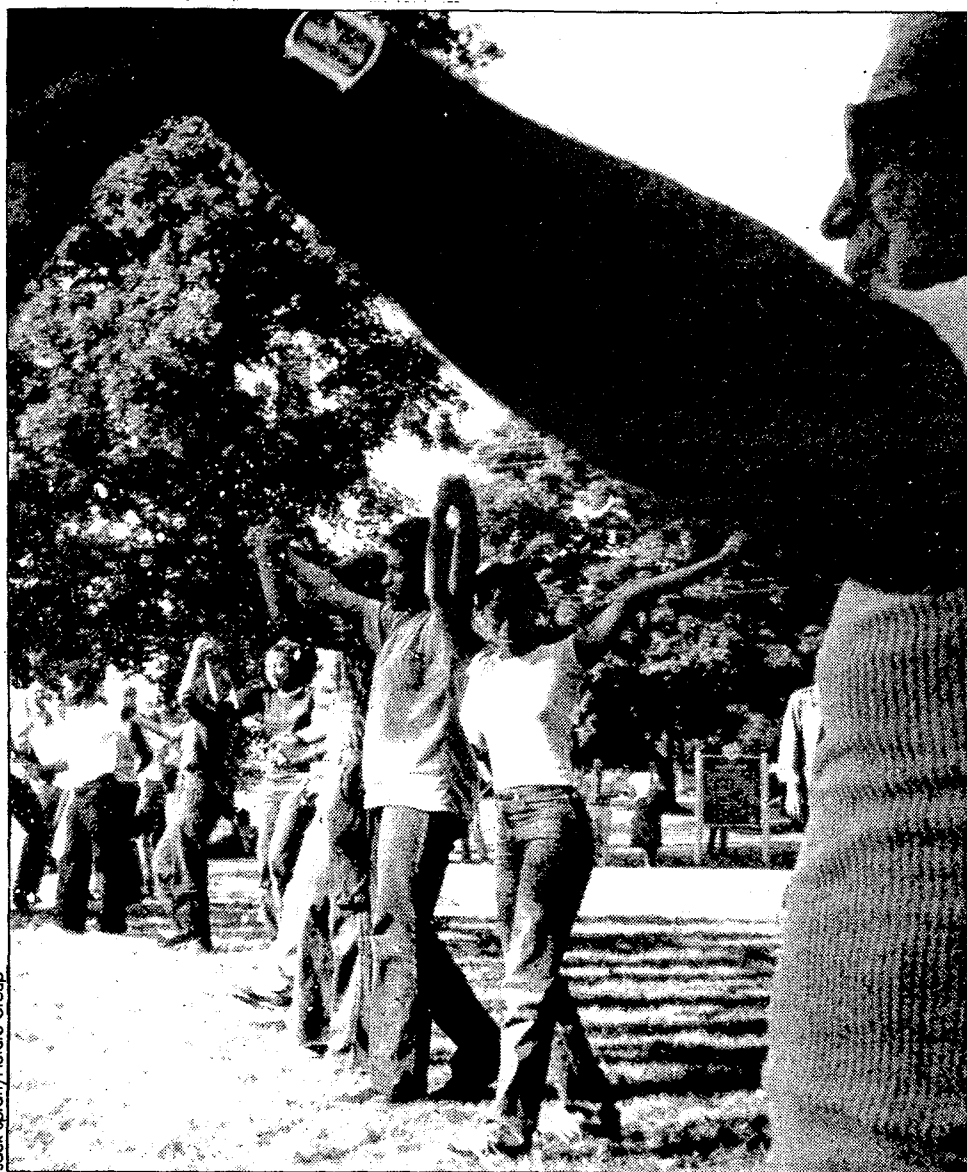
From the rear of the line, a few vehicles were attempting to proceed to the rally. As a van came through, shouts of "Klan!" went up and the vehicle was attacked, its windows smashed. Two men walking were attacked, one with sticks from InCAR banners plunged repeatedly against the man's side like spears while he lay in a ditch. He was later hospitalized with broken ribs. The confrontation ended when the column of marchers withdrew—whether because of police herding or prudence is unclear.

According to Toby Schwartz, in a later telephone interview, "We had some 600 people in a country road and it was about to get dark. We were surrounded by armed Klan and armed police, and we decided to turn around. You have to know when to do that, too."

Why, I asked, had they decided to leave the green?

"What were we going to do on the

Continued on page 8.



Jack Spratt/Picture Group

"I'm angry that I have to spend a weekend on preparations so that some idiot can burn a cross and some other idiot can try to stop him," a local resident said, referring to an anti-Klan group that espouses violence. Klan demonstrators (above); a non-violent anti-Klan demonstration on Scotland, Conn., town green (below).



# IN THE WORLD

## POLAND

# Other workers follow Gdansk lead

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

**A**S FREE UNIONS PROLIFERATED throughout Poland, the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party pulled itself together to reassert authority over its wayward working class.

After the striking Gdansk shipyard workers won the legal right to form their own independent, self-managed union, every category in the country was wanting one too. As workers in one industry after another went on strike, professional people consulted lawyers on how to use the Gdansk agreements to set up their own independent associations of teachers, artists, doctors, journalists and so on.

The contagion even spread to the relatively well-paid and usually tranquil miners of Silesia. In a couple of days, over 200,000 of them were out on strike for the famous 21 demands of the Baltic coast workers plus 25 more of their own, including an end to the practice of paying professional "amateur" athletes out of the miners' fund and the right to display statues of the miners' patron saint Barbara in the pits.

Ten years ago, Silesia's calm while workers revolted elsewhere helped bring the region's economic chieftain Edward Gierek to power. This time, the revolt swept the whole country. On Sept. 5, Gierek had a heart attack just in time to be hospitalized for the Central Committee meeting that night that shook up the party secretariat and political bureau and replaced him as first secretary with Stanislaw Kania, the most nondescript parachik in the house. The Kremlin applauded loudly. The Poles, seemingly unconcerned, went about their business of organizing new unions outside Party control.

Nobody could remember having seen Kania before. He has that sort of face. As for his voice, its inspiring qualities re-



educated than himself, most of them considered liberal reformers. The outstanding figure on both the new nine-man Party secretariat and 13-man political bureau is 49-year-old Stefan Olszowski, an ambitious intellectual who as foreign minister from 1971 to 1976 presided over Poland's rapprochement with West Germany, France and the Vatican. When in 1976 he was put in charge of the economic sector, he called for radical reforms that were never carried out. Last year, his criticism of the Gierek regime's drift got him evicted from the Party leadership and prepared his triumphant comeback this summer, when the "explosion of discontent" he and his friends had been predicting occurred.

### The intellectuals' indictment.

Olszowski is considered close to the group of intellectuals called "Experience and Future" (DIP) made up of leading sociologists, economists, writers, filmmakers, including many Party members but also some Catholics. A year ago, DIP issued a 100-page mimeographed "Report on the State of the Republic and Paths to Recovery" warning Gierek against the effects of the breakdown of political ethics. The regime's practical abandonment of Communist ideology in favor of material incentives had not made it more popular. "Paradoxically, the weakening, even the disappearance of the ideological factor has only deepened the gap between the Party and the population. With the weakening of ideological motivation, the race for power and its advantages comes to the fore," the DIP report stated.

The DIP intellectuals particularly deplored constant manipulations of the judicial system that had convinced citizens they were up against an unfair "class justice" and deprived them of any motive to play by the rules. "The lack of respect for fair play between the government and citizens, and even between various official agencies, has deprived the government of its capacity to regulate the social and economic situation, while the citizens, with their sense of insecurity, make no distinction between legal and illegal means, moral and immoral means to defend their rights, and care little about their duties. The damage caused by this state of mind risks contaminating future generations."

Concerning the "ravages caused by corruption," the Report noted that "the prevailing opinion that all of Poland

takes bribes," while surely exaggerated, was the sign of a sick society.

Another symptom was a "collective information psychosis," a suspicion that every news report conceals some dire scheme. "This is not wise skepticism, but the other side of naive credulity," according to DIP. "People who today believe in nothing and nobody are apt tomorrow to fall for the most unlikely rumor, for the first demagogue who comes along. A society with no political authority may, in a moment of crisis or panic, turn into a blind force..."

DIP also emphasized the dramatic growth of economic disparities during the Gierek decade. The turn toward Western capital for economic development was accompanied by a turn away from efforts to strengthen social and economic equality. The salary gap has spread to a range of one to 20. So-called "non-productive" investments in public health, education and other social welfare programs have dropped from 25 percent of total investments in 1960 to 19 percent today. Free medical care for all, "rightly considered one of the achievements of the regime," has been corrupted. Now there is a need for "connections" to get proper care. The privileged have access to modern clinics while the health of the poor is neglected. To make matters worse, most of the population eats badly, and there is no consumer check on quality of food products.

The 1979 DIP Report concluded dismally that these very evils help stabilize the regime, as whole strata come to terms with social paralysis and find ad-



(Left) Miners in Silesia await word of settlement; (above) First Secretary Stanislaw Kania is unknown to most Poles.

vantage in it: a fraction of the working class "freed from work discipline and enjoying practical impunity"; peasants who can profit from speculation; part of the intelligentsia advancing their careers through conformism and opportunism.

Continued on page 8.

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Differences are sure to crop up in the alliance of more conservative Catholics with left intellectuals of the KOR group.

remained a mystery as Polish television saw fit to have an announcer read excerpts from his acceptance speech against the background of his picture. His biography—peasant origins, scant education, a model career in the Party, including a spell in charge of cadre and, most recently, responsibility for the army, the police and relations with the Catholic Church, no less—sounds as if he merits Brezhnev's warm tribute as "a courageous fighter for strengthening the leadership role of the Party." Kania promised to do this and at the same time to respect the Gdansk agreements. He stressed that workers had not gone on strike against the principles of socialism, Poland's alliances or the leading role of the Party. Rather, they expressed discontent over a break between government and society and over "serious mistakes in economic policy."

Kania presides over a new team of Party leaders better known and better



# Klan

Continued from page 6.

green—hold hands and sing folksongs?" "What about the man whose ribs were broken?"

"I don't know. I didn't see that. Listen, you're asking some pretty funny questions. Let's get one thing straight. The Klan is stormtroopers—nothing more, nothing less. The Klan is out to organize for, and commit, racist murder. People all over Europe wonder why we don't respond to provocation to violence."

According to one account, an InCAR member himself was attacked by one of his compatriots, as well as Scotland residents on their way to nearby homes.

Schwartz claims the Klan went through housing projects in Willimantic, the largest neighboring town, with a bull-horn shouting racist slurs against blacks and Puerto Ricans, and then sent letters around to the whites propagandizing and inviting them to the rally.

But according to Marta Daniels, field representative for the American Friends Service Committee, CAR did its own recruiting in the housing project. "I was just appalled at the intensity of the incitement to violence. And I was really struck by the sameness of the two groups."

"InCAR security people were trained

to attack," Daniels said. So violent was the atmosphere on the road that a group of protestors from the New Haven Peace Center who had been silently vigiling directly across from the Rood drive accepted an offer of police protection for the ride back to the green lest they be beaten up by CAR.

The action was over by the time Wilkinson, at the rally, had installed 24-year-old Gary Piscottano as Grand Dragon of Connecticut. Piscottano said few words and had to be urged to speak louder.

He apologized with a daffy, almost charming smile. "I'm not a very good speaker. It's my first time."

Wilkinson took over the microphone again, moving from taxes to rape of white women in the armed forces by black non-commissioned officers—culminating in the image of a victim of black crime gurgling in his own blood. He donned his robe, and the circle of Klansmen lit the cross. It was over. A few whiskey bottles littered the pasture.

David Morse is a writer in Connecticut.

# Poland

Continued from page 7.

The DIP Report predicted that the lowering of expected living standards could produce an "explosion" of strikes.

It added that such explosions are "not entirely negative, since over the past 20 years they have been the regime's only effective regulating mechanism."

The same sort of arguments were voiced in a tumultuous session of parliament about the time Gierek was being unhorsed. "The shock should be a stimulant," declared Andrzej Zabinski, another new member of both the secretariat and politburo. He blasted "fussy censorship" and "sterile appeals for productivity." One speaker after another demanded that the parliament play a genuine political role instead of serving as a rubber stamp, and denounced the "scandalous" media censorship of parliamentary debate (which continued, by the way; newspaper reports considerably toned down the parliamentarians' complaints).

## The new leadership.

The composition of the new Party leadership indicated a focus on farm problems. Several were agricultural experts. The regime seemed ready to take up the Gdansk workers' suggestion to encourage small farmers, first of all by reassuring them of the permanence of private ownership.

But in the rest of the economy, wasn't it a certain shift towards capitalism that was mainly coming under fire? Gierek's departure seemed to be most sharply regretted in Bonn and Paris, where he had established warm personal relationships. President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing was reportedly ever so fond of the French-speaking Gierek, who in his youth was

expelled from France for organizing his fellow miners. Sentiment aside, Poland has been the main bridgehead for Western capitalist investment in Eastern Europe. Part of Western capitals' "responsible moderation" in the face of worker rebellion in Poland can be attributed to their desire to save this bridgehead.

Gierek at least kept his promise, made when he came to power 10 years ago in the wake of bloody worker riots, never to fire on the workers.

A nation's political life grows out of certain commonly recognized values. In Poland, the major surviving value that everyone is obliged to recognize is the welfare of working people, and the country's political life has revived and blossomed around the defense of this value. Left opposition intellectuals found the key to their own participation in political life when they founded the Workers' Defense Committee (KOR) four years ago.

The new independent unions are a haven for intellectuals whom they are taking on as experts. KOR founder Jacek Kuron has been invited to Gdansk for consultations. Jan Litinski, editor of the KOR bulletin *Robotnik*, has been taken on as expert consultant by the new Wazbrzych miners union. It provided him with a statement that "We consider any threat to Jan Litinski's safety as an obstacle to our activities," which he carries at all times as a safe conduct pass.

But as Saint Barbara shows, the working class can have quite a variety of protectors. As discussion moves from the great principles of freedom and independence to more specific issues, their disagreements will start to show up. Already between the Catholic and KOR intellectuals serving as "experts," a difference has arisen over whether elected factory committees should take part in management. This is the same debate that repeatedly divides the reformist (or social democratic) from the radical (or revolutionary) left in Western Europe.

The Communist Party leadership seems to be getting ready to exploit the inevitable differences within the opposition to reassert its role as "the Party of the workers." Judging from past experience, it is likely to seek tactical alliances with the conservative wing of the opposition most closely linked to the Catholic Church in an effort to isolate and defeat the left opposition. Thus the Communist youth organ *Sztandar Mlodych*, in an article entitled "False Friends," lost no time in attacking KOR leaders Kuron and Michnik for trying to "exploit worker discontent to undermine socialism from within."

But others in the regime seem ready to employ more subtle means of social control, similar to those used in the West. To do so, they must persuade the Russians that the heavy-handed methods used in the USSR are not suitable to the more politically conscious societies of Eastern Europe, and least of all to Poland.

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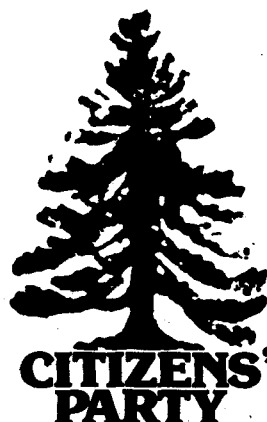
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## EL SALVADOR

# Violence mars reform programs

By David Helvarg

SAN SALVADOR

SINCE THE YOUNG OFFICERS' coup of October 15, 1979, the Carter administration has pursued a policy of reform in El Salvador hoping to shore up the shaky military-Christian Democratic junta that rules here while undermining the left's popular base of support. The mainstay of the new program has been the Agrarian Reform decrees of March 6 and April 27. Known as "Phase 1," these two decrees called for the expropriation ("intervention") of farms over 1,200 acres and under 250 acres. The larger farms were to be handed over to peasant cooperatives while the smaller units were to be broken up and given to *campesino* tenant farmers for individual family farming. Phase 1 is supposed to affect two-thirds of the rural population, while a later Phase 2 program will lead to the intervention of farms between 250 and 1,200 acres, on which most of the country's coffee for export is grown.

"We're carrying out the reforms the communists were calling for, but now they're trying to sabotage them. We think when the fruits of this agrarian reform are realized things will begin to calm down," says Major Antonio Arrizza, a short, stocky army ranger with wavy black hair. The major is sitting in the Zapote Cuartel (fort) across the street from the presidential palace, playing nervously with a long-barreled .38 revolver he has just pulled out of his back pocket. He is a *Mujanista* aligned with liberal junta member Colonel Adolfo Majano and as we're talking the *Abdulistas*, rightist elements grouped around Colonel Jaime Abdul Gutierrez, are trying to consolidate their power on the junta by ordering a purge of Majano supporters.

"We are handling this [conflict with the left] as political warfare," says junta member Jose Napoleon Duarte, head of the Christian Democratic Party. "This is why we have changed the economic structure, this is the reason for the agrarian reform."

"The land reform has stolen the thunder from the left," agrees Dr. Roy Prosterman, a slight, casually dressed law professor from the University of Washington. We are sitting by the pool at the nearly deserted Hotel Presidente in suburban San Salvador. With professor Prosterman is his young assistant Jeff Reidinger and Mary Temple, director of the Land Council for Rural Progress in Developing Countries, a project recently founded by Clark Kerr. Prosterman, a land reform specialist, has worked in some 16 countries, including South Vietnam, the Philippines and the Dominican Republic. He is one of a small group of private citizens from the U.S. who have helped the government here formulate and implement the land reform decrees in cooperation with the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). AIFLD's work in El Salvador has been funded through the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), which has committed some \$25 million to the land reform program this year, part of a \$60 million U.S. aid package (not including some \$3.7 million earmarked for military aid).

"This is like Vietnam. The U.S. still thinks they can use their technology and their expertise to save the world. It's like you put up this reform front, land to the

"You put up this front—land to the tiller, free unions—then you bring in the gunships."

tiller, free labor development, then you come in with the helicopter gunships. It's not that I don't have faith in the U.S. people. They'll protest when it happens. It's just that it could be too late. Hell, all it would take the Marines is about a week in El Salvador to kill off half our people. We don't have the missiles to take down Phantoms."

That's a familiar sort of statement. We've heard variations on it from a Jesuit priest, students, urban workers and rural guerrillas. The difference is that this time the person talking is one of the leaders of ISTA, the government's Institute of Agrarian Transformation, the agency assigned to carry out the land reform. "You look at the way the *campesinos* are treated in this country. It's like the Jews in Germany. It's not just military oppression; it's the violence of their daily lives: starvation, bad housing, lack of education. Decree 207 (land to the tiller) hasn't been implemented. No title has been given to the *campesinos* for the land. They don't really trust the reform. Why should they?"

The Secretary General of ISTA is Roldo Viera, a dark, solidly built *campesino* who also heads up the *Union Comunal Salvadoreña* (UCS), a "non-leftist" *campesino* organization created by AIFLD in 1966. "I have no political commitment; no one tells me what to do," he claims. "When the reform started, I thought it was the beginning of some small justice for the *campesino*,



but we've gotten very little support from the government; most of the support we've gotten came from the people around Colonel Majano and now they want to get rid of him. If he goes, UCS will go too. The *campesinos* will be forced to take up arms because they will have no hope left."

Following the arrest of 17 leaders of the electrical workers union on Friday, Aug. 22, eight of 13 UCS departmental groupings issued a call demanding the release of the left-wing trade unionists. And many *campesinos* in the countryside are said to work under the land reform while continuing to give their support to the popular organizations of the left.

"The left doesn't have anything to offer the peasants anymore. The land reform is giving them what they wanted," we were told at the U.S. embassy.

"Go check it out for yourselves." We did.

## Trouble in the fields.

We traveled to Hacienda San Jose De La Montania, an "intervened" *Finca* in the Department of La Paz—one of the "quieter sections" of the country, according to a briefing we'd received from U.S. Mil-Group commander Colonel Dan Cummings. About two miles up the unpaved dirt road we came to a barbed-wire barricade. Behind the homemade barricade someone had dug a four-foot by six-foot trench across the length of the roadbed. We parked our jeep and jumped the trench. A tractor on the other side gave us a lift through the flat, heavily populated countryside. Two to three thousand *campesinos* live along this

*Continued on page 10.*

## Leftists split on opposition strategy

SAN SALVADOR—The partial failure of the leftist-called general strike of August 13-15 has allowed right-wing elements in El Salvador to consolidate their power in the armed forces and prompted some left-wing groups to re-evaluate their strategy, pulling back from a pledged "final offensive" to reorganize for "prolonged popular war."

"The general strike can't really be called a failure," said an informed observer at the University of Central America (a Catholic school and one of the only functioning colleges in the country since the army occupied the National University June 27). "The 50 percent participation was less than in the general strikes of March and June, but then there was also greater suppression this time with more army patrols and more people killed. Also, I suppose people saw no immediate hope for insurrection and so were reluctant to risk their jobs in a symbolic protest. I think the real failure of the strike was not in the people but in a noticeable lack of coordination between the various popular forces. FARN [the Armed Forces of National Resistance] did not fully participate, for example."

U.S. ambassador Bob White dubbed the strike "a psychological turning point." "With the failure of the strike there is no longer the feeling that a victory of the left is inexorable," he said. He attributed the government's

improved chances to the U.S.-backed land reform and to "improved respect for human rights among the armed forces."

But even as he spoke, right-wing elements in the armed forces, grouped around junta member Colonel Jaime Gutierrez and Minister of Defense Colonel Jose Garcia, were using the period of relative calm following the strike to consolidate their power within the government.

On Aug. 22, in the wake of a nationwide black-out staged by striking electrical workers, the government declared a state of national emergency, sending the National Guard into the power stations, arresting 17 leaders of the electrical workers union and militarizing the country's power, water and telephone systems, ports, railways and airports. The country's major services are now under the direct authority of minister of defense Garcia.

On Monday, Sept. 1, Colonel Gutierrez sent out an order to the army stripping officers loyal to junta member Colonel Adolfo Majano of their commands and ordering their transfer overseas and to ceremonial posts. Majano, known as the government member most sympathetic to the land reform—and the only one to openly criticize human rights abuses by the armed forces—told his supporters not to obey the order.

Majano, a symbol of the "young

officers" who staged the reform coup of Oct. 15, was thought to have the support of as many as 50 percent of the country's military commanders. For more than a week tensions in the capital ran high, with all regular army units confined to their barracks as the five-man junta met to try and prevent a split within the military.

Finally, on the night of Sept. 9, Majano caved in to pressure from Gutierrez and the three Christian Democrats in the junta, ordering his supporters to abide by the purge order while agreeing to stay on in the junta as a token figure. The undermining of Majano's power was seen as a defeat for both the land reform program and "professionalism" within the military.

The left, expecting to gain additional support as a result of what it calls "the process of fascistization" going on within the government, is itself divided over questions of tactics and strategy. The FARN recently came close to withdrawing from the Division of Revolutionary Unification (DRU)—the coordinating body for the major guerrilla organizations—over a question of strategy.

The FARN believes that a general insurrection is imminent and has been actively pushing for a final offensive while holding back its own resources (tens of millions of dollars acquired from kidnappings and an unknown

*Continued on page 10.*

*Editor's note: David Helvarg is on assignment for In These Times in Central America. This report, the second in a series, was filed before the guerrilla actions against the U.S. embassy and the Organization of American States offices.*



# Reform

Continued from page 9.

12-mile stretch of road. There are thatch huts patched up with plastic garbage bags, flooded foot paths and scrap wood, tin-roofed settlements abutting one on another through the tropical overgrowth. After the tractor let us off, we walked the last five miles to the hacienda, passing into a less populous area where large tracts of land have been planted in cotton and corn, the fields drying to a brittle brown.

In front of the main farm building, a whitewashed brick storehouse, we were greeted by four sun-toughened *campesinos*. Three of them carried machetes. The fourth, a younger man, was standing look-out on a rusty water tower, a .38 pistol stuck in the back pocket of his jeans. They all appeared nervous. They were part of a 30-person coop that homesteaded this hacienda following the land reform in March, the president explained. Two hundred other people worked with them but many stayed away because of the troubles the past week, he said. He is a quiet man with deep lines etched into his face, two gold teeth, a mustache and a five-day growth of beard. Several sources later confirmed his story.

It started the previous Wednesday when an agronomist and four other ISTA technicians drove into the area with the farm payroll. They were stopped by five armed men who forced them to lie face down in the dirt and stole the money, about \$14,000. The robbers also took the car but abandoned it halfway back to the main highway, shooting out

the tires and continuing on foot. By then word has spread and *campesinos* in the area had started after the robbers. Two of the men we talked with were able to overtake the robbers on horseback, getting into a shoot-out with three of them while the other two escaped with about a third of the loot. They killed two of the robbers and wounded the third, who they interrogated before killing him. He told them that an unnamed National Guard colonel and a local landowner had put them up to it.

Meanwhile, the ISTA agronomist had gone to the local *Cuartel* to report on the robbery. The colonel in charge seemed uninterested until the bodies of the three robbers were discovered several days later. Then the National Guard chief sent for the president of the coop and his treasurer. The president of the coop brought the two shooters to the fort with him, promising them that if the colonel had them killed he would pay with his own life to revenge them. The colonel accused the two of being in on the robbery and of being members of the Popular Revolutionary Block (BPR), one of the mass organizations of the left. After reading them a list of 12 names of alleged members of the BPR working on their hacienda and threatening to turn them over to his guards unless they provided him with information, he let them go.

On Sunday, the coop treasurer was waiting to catch a bus back towards the hacienda when he and a bystander were picked up by the guard. According to this surviving witness, the National Guard took them to the Cuartel where they were beaten, strangled and tortured with electrical shocks. After that, a sub-sergeant in the guard stripped the treasurer naked and shot him dead. His body has not yet been located.

"We have to be vigilant now," the president of the coop says. "We need people to act as lookouts, to warn us so we can leave before the military come to get us. The guerrillas don't have the weapons or the communications to protect us. One trench is not enough to stop the guard. The *campesinos* have to organize themselves."

"We were given all these promises when the new government came in, but they've failed us," says one of the shooters, a short man in his 30s with long side-

burns, black rubber farm boots and a brown felt hat. "We were promised clinics, milk for the kids, tools to work the land. All lies." He looks up, squinting at the sun as a pair of buzzards circle overhead. "All I know is the government is still killing us. They told us the land reform would be our new savior, our true protection. We *campesinos* are beginning to realize that bullets may be our only true protection."

David Helvarg is filing a series of reports from Central America.

## Opposition

Continued from page 9.

quantity of arms) to use at the time of the insurrection. Its insurrectionist leadership is considered more middle class and intellectual than that of the other groups.

The Popular Liberation Forces (FPL) and the Peoples Revolutionary Army (ERP), the other two major groups in the DRU, also advocate a general insurrection. But recent events have tended to reinforce their orientation towards a more gradual strategy of base-building, militia organization and arms procurement, while escalating in combat over a longer period of time. They have now set back a final offensive until at least December, the end of the coffee-picking season.

The FPL originally formed as a break-away from the Salvadorean Communist Party. The best organized and most secretive of the political-military organizations, FPL also maintains a multi-million dollar war chest, the booty from ransoming kidnapped oligarchs and foreign businessmen. It

is said to have the best store of arms.

The ERP grew out of the Christian Youth movement of the early '70s. In 1975 the FARN split from the ERP over the shooting of Roque Dalton, a revolutionary poet and political leader. The ERP probably has the largest number of people but the poorest supply of arms. Despite this handicap it's been able to build up secure base areas in the rugged northern mountains of Morazan, bordering on Honduras. A young woman guerrilla working with the ERP expressed the hope that with a higher level of unity the guerrilla movements of El Salvador might begin to see a sharing out of resources and better coordinated actions. Indications are that in the very near future the DRU (which also includes the Communist Party of El Salvador, now in the process of creating its own armed group) may form a single command structure under the name of the National Liberation Front—*Farabundo Marti*.

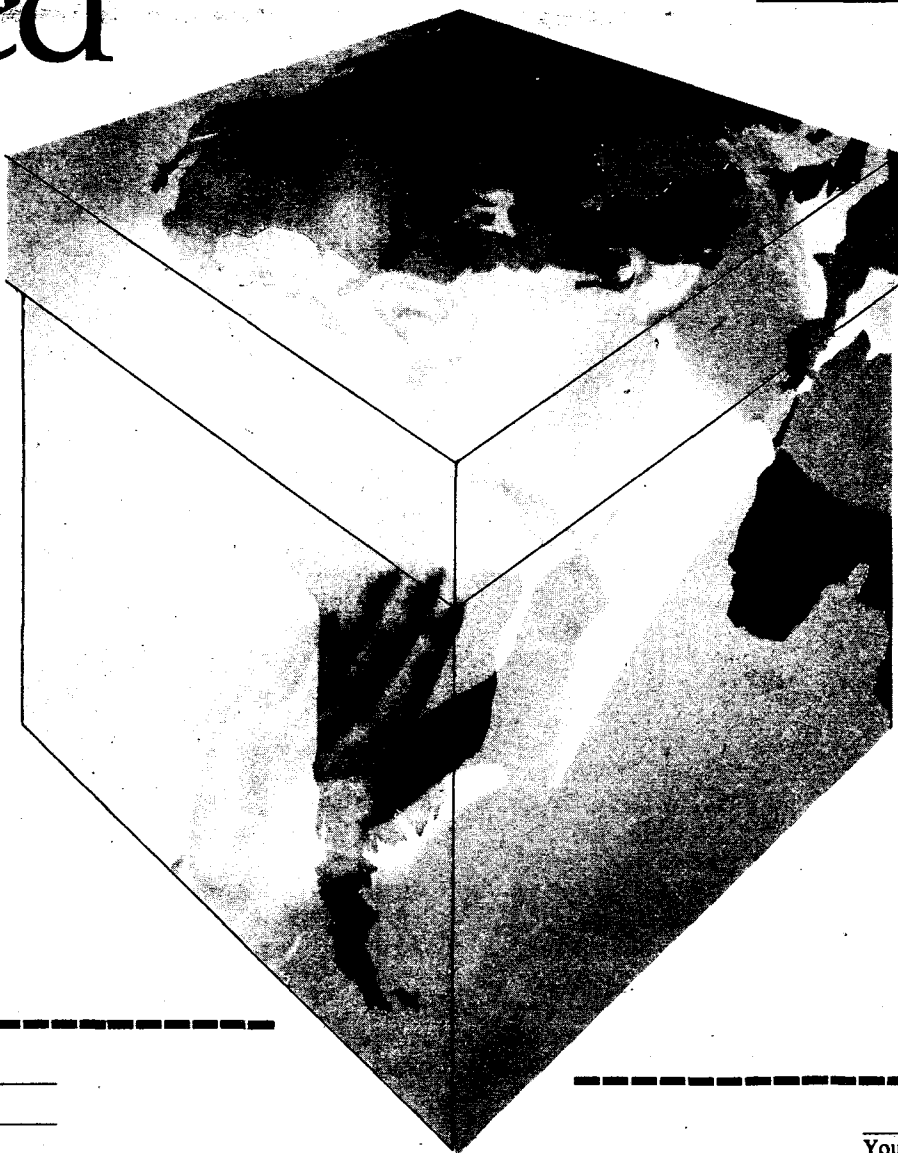
But for the present, the 5,000-15,000 estimated members of the various guerrilla factions remain poorly armed and not well coordinated.

—David Helvarg

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**I**N A WOODED RETREAT outside of Washington, D.C., a group of 30 representatives from around the country gathered to hear reports on several leftish campaigns against big business influence. "I have a sense of *deja vu*," one

of the older speakers said. "It feels like 10 or 15 years ago." "That sounds good," a young woman student replied. "I always felt I was born 10 years too late."

Many university students in the past decade were disappointed that they "missed the '60s," with its passionate politics in which students played a starring role. But there is less and less reason for the current batch of students to miss out on political activity, if they want it. After the marked drop-off in student activism from roughly 1972 to 1976, a new wave of student involvement has been steadily building.

In the last few years, the numbers at student demonstrations have been growing. Activity has spread and is less limited to elite campuses, although the South is the most quiescent. Several new national student organizations have formed and grown rapidly. There's scattered but

strong student opposition to nuclear power. And last spring an anti-registration and draft movement took off: 30,000 young people—mainly students—marched on Washington. Local actions took place across the country, loosely linked by a national Coalition Against Registration and the Draft. Local university battles over tenure for a popular left professor or conservative retrenchments of student rights by administrators flare up repeatedly, often drawing broad support. Politics has become a more accepted part of campus life again, and the active minority grows with each new campaign.

The renewed student movement is likely to continue to grow. But barring some catastrophic events, the euphoric mass political tumult of the '60s is not likely to recur. The new student movement will be more modest, more sober, and more linked to non-student organizations. It will have the very specific student character of moralistic fervor that will frequently grate on otherwise friendly non-student groups, but it will not be a '60s-style generational revolt of a "youth class."

Comparisons with the '60s are inevitable. "It's like coming to college as a freshman younger brother of the former star quarterback," Berkeley's *Daily Cal* editor Tom Abate said, "with everyone wondering what you're going to do to follow in his shoes." Although images of the '60s are still important in shaping student political sentiments the impact is fading fast. Many of this fall's entering class were born in 1962, so their parents were more likely to have reflected the culture of the '50s and its conservatism, and the students today often know little or nothing about the war in Vietnam, the civil rights movement or any of the causes of their predecessors.

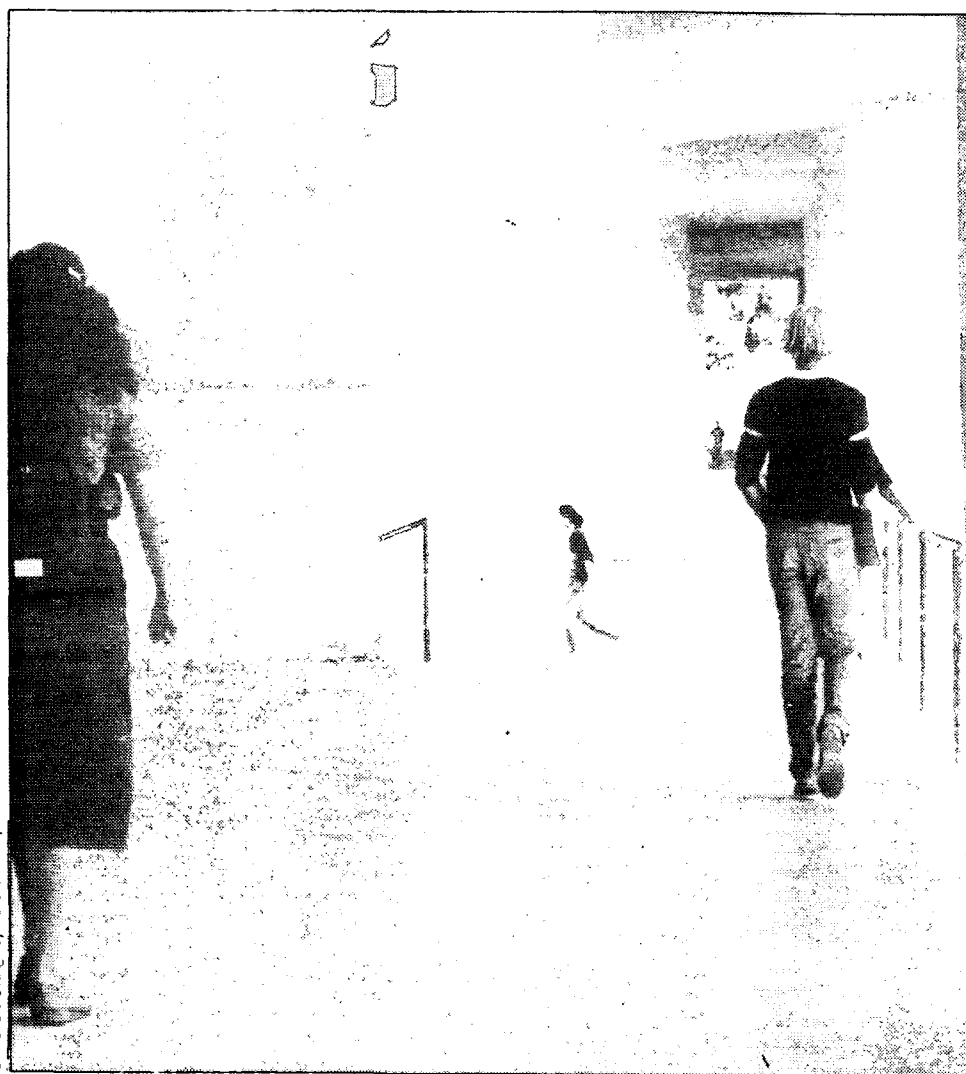
Yet there are a few images that slip through and make a difference: Nancy

*Continued on the following page.*

*It's not all  
pin-stripes and  
careerism in the  
dorms: a renewed  
student movement  
bucks the  
prevailing mood  
—hopelessness.*



Marcelo Montecino



Lionel De la Cruz

## Cracking Campus Cynicism

**By David Moberg**



Continued from previous page.

Reiner, a recent Tufts graduate who was active in college politics, said, "When I look back at the '60s, I remember the flowers. I asked my mother why people put down the '60s: they were for peace and love. That's what I saw, not the violence." Others have images not only of turbulence and violence but also of futility, having been taught by media in the '70s that nothing was accomplished. "There's a split image of the '60s," early Students for a Democratic Society leader Todd Gitlin said. "It was very exciting and it accomplished nothing." So Joel Rubinstein, 22, looked forward to coming to college "so I could take part in the protest movement." And, on the other hand, Ed Kennedy, a black undergraduate several years older than his classmates at Cornell, can say of them, "It's not that they're apathetic, but their impression of the '60s is that everyone went crazy, nothing changed, nothing worked." Recently students who have been active have often been ridiculed as simply trying to mimic an ancient past.

The particularly crazy manifestations of the New Left in the early '70s, as well as Nixon's 1972 triumph, created a sense of despair and revulsion that drove many students away from politics. With the U.S. war in Vietnam shifting more to the air, some of the immediate threat of the war eased. Then Watergate capped a period in which all politics, including politics on the left, seemed characterized by distortion, intrigue and personal corruption. Given the apocalyptic expectations of the student New Left, the failure of the "Amerikkkan Empire" to crumble in a few years seemed proof of failure.

At the same time, the economy was sending shocks of recession, unemployment and inflation with a new intensity. The affluence that permitted an indulgent counterculture shriveled, and the easy job market for university graduates—especially for those in the humanities and social sciences, which had been centers of left politics—quickly vanished. Instead of speculating about how college degrees might be worthless "after the Revolution," more students were wondering which degree might be more marketable in the next few years. Fear was added to despair.



Jane Meirick



Lionel Delvingne/Picture Group

*Professors are continually surprised to find that students now take for granted a left analysis of wealth and power in the U.S. and in its foreign policy.*

The left never disappeared on campus. The women's movement, for one, flourished at a time when other movements were collapsing. Partly it benefited from the more competitive economic climate, since one of its aims was to break down barriers to women's entry into various careers. Its momentum continued on through the '70s, casting a broad and diffuse influence on student life and occasionally securing institutional bases, such as women's studies programs, before running low on momentum late in the decade.

Also, many of the young professors hired when universities were expanding were leftists of some sort, and Marxist scholarship showed a new revival, making the left intellectually respectable.

Yet the dominant media image was that students were rapidly becoming more conservative, more materialistic and less socially concerned. That was "news," whereas the continued sit-ins and demonstrations that did occur with surprising frequency were as old-hat as dogs biting men. Besides, the big news of the '70s was the economy. Students were largely not addressing economic issues.

But the media image was not a fabrication. The annual surveys of attitudes of entering college freshmen conducted by Alexander Astin of UCLA for the American Council on Education show a marked shift of self-image over the decade to "middle of the road." From 1969 to 1979, the percentage of freshman students choosing that label went from 47.3 percent to 61.5 percent for women and from 42.2 percent to 54.1 percent for men. Conservative, liberal (around 23 percent in 1979), far right and far left (around 2 percent in 1979 compared to 2.2 percent for women and 3.8 percent for men in 1969) all lost ground to the middle. Other survey questions confirmed the shift:

- Financial success was very important for 28 percent more men and 77 percent more women in 1979 compared with 1969.
- Developing a philosophy of life was very important to 36 percent fewer women and 35 percent fewer men.
- Keeping up on political affairs was important to 33 percent fewer women and 18 percent fewer men.
- Although generally there was a drift toward more support for rights of students, that seemed less true for civil liberties in general, although students are predictably more liberal than the population as a whole on most issues.
- Career choices reflected a greater move toward business and the professions. (Degrees awarded in the social sciences and humanities began to peak around 1969-71, with history, English and modern foreign languages leading the decline that followed—dropping by nearly 50 percent by 1977-78. Business and management, on the other hand, climbed by 45 percent from 1970 to 1978, and law more than doubled.)

## A new "normalcy"

This apparent shift in opinions of freshmen—presumably paralleled to some extent by graduates—may be seen as simply returning to normal after an unusual time: without anything in their experience to push them to the left, students have simply reflected the dominant views in society. But the "middle of the road" is not really a conservatism as much as a withdrawal from politics, a suspension of judgment and a determination to pay attention first of all to studies—and second, as students around the country confirmed, to partying. So what's new?

What's new is that the base-line "middle of the road" point of view has changed dramatically. Leftist professors, for example, are continually surprised at how readily most of the students take for granted their analysis of the inequality of power and wealth in U.S. society or their exposes of the not-so-innocent motives of American foreign policy. But this worldly-wise assumption does not necessarily lead to action or even anger. "Students of the '60s were morally outraged by injustice," Tufts sociology professor Peter Dreier says, "but students



Richard Stromberg

today have no illusions to be disillusioned." Similarly, Clark University sociology professor Bob Ross, a former New Left leader, remarked, "There's a level of populist resentment around, crude but strong: politicians are corrupt, bankers are money-grubbing, industrialists don't care about anything but profits. Either that's terrible, or else that's just the way society works. I can't find a kid who believes it's a pluralist system. They're wise, cynical, but their direct life history doesn't teach them about fighting and winning."

Beneath the apparent conservatism, then, there is this critical outlook. There is also an incredibly high level of cynicism and feeling of powerlessness. Individual solutions are paramount in part because "it's a tough world out there," in part because nothing else seems available—or at least seems likely to work. And students have become much more insistent that proposals seem "realistic." They are more likely to put their faith in narrowly defined projects with discrete goals. They shrink from ideologies as "empty rhetoric" and often are reluctant to make the automatic linkages of social movements.

At one level there is clearly the much-



Steve Kagan





reported "me first" mentality. Take, for example, Jim Wells, a Columbia University student who helped manage a college store—which incidentally refused to abide by a student government decision to boycott Nestle products because of the company's role in peddling infant formula to women in poor countries. "I guess I'm sort of self-interested, like everyone else," Wells said. "I probably give more thought to issues that affect me directly than issues far away. For example, certainly whether we have investments in South Africa is important, but I can get more stirred up about the university banning hot plates in the dorm. My life isn't going to change tomorrow if investments come out of South Africa."

Others figure they can only influence the world through their own success. "A lot of people are deferring things 'til they get out of school," Radcliffe sophomore Susan Baird said. "They think they'll be in a better position and think they'll be able to influence things if they do well in school. There's a general swing from 'Let's kill the corporation' to 'Let's get the money and make them do it right.' If you're going to spend all your time picketing and if you don't get some results, you won't have anything to live on."

Perhaps the most pervasive sentiment that contributes to the cynical tone on campus is the feeling that nothing works and that students—and perhaps everyone else—are powerless. David Rosenberg, managing editor at the Columbia University *Spectator*, caught the mood well: "The standard line for all politics is that 'nothing seems to work, nothing can be done, it doesn't make any difference.' It obviously goes for presidential candidates but for activist groups as well. It's a general disillusionment, not like students have abandoned Mom and apple pie for Leninism. They've abandoned everything. In the past people felt that it was outrageous there was poverty in this country. Now there's a feeling that there will always be poor people, and there's nothing we can do to stop that. There's a sense of the system being immovable. It's not that people become gung-ho about it. The average student goes to work for IBM just to get the money to live the way they want."

Hopelessness, a feeling of powerlessness, a sense that nothing has worked or will work, fear for their own future, a lack of vision of where to go, ignorance and confusion on the issues of the day—all these contribute to the apparent conservatism that is actually a withdrawal from politics. But the issues are also seemingly much more complicated now than in the '60s, and no national political leaders or movements are clarifying the energy crisis, inflation or the continued economic slumps. "Students care about the economic issues, about oil," Ed Kennedy said, "but they don't know what to do about it. With the war in Vietnam, you could dodge the draft, and with black rights you could propose legislation, but what are you going to do about \$1.40 a gallon gasoline? Also, this is complicated to understand, not like the right to vote."

The issues are not only complicated. They are also often remote from students' immediate experience. And, perhaps most important, the economic and energy issues that have risen to the forefront usually lack the peculiar moral cast that is essential for passionate student political involvement.

The most heartfelt campaigns in the revived student movement over the past five years have been opposition to apartheid in South Africa, opposition to nuclear power, various environmental causes, a particular range of women's issues, a few anti-corporate boycotts (particularly against J.P. Stevens and Nestle), and now—maybe—the opposition to registration and the draft.

There's a common thread running through all of these issues as they have emerged on campus. Each has been cast as an existential question, a matter of standing up for good in the world. Each has been presented as a matter of elementary human rights—or, in certain cases, of nature—suffering from some gross exploitation. In that sense, they are outside of politics (which is corrupt and compromised) and outside history. Such black and white divisions of justice and injustice have a particular importance in student politics. Most college students, aged 18-21, become impassioned about issues that permit them to define themselves personally, to stand up and gain an identity as they move to adulthood. This is not to derogate such student interests as mere epiphenomena of late adolescent psychology. Rather, it is one of the important "self interests" of

students to give definition to who they are in an unstable world.

If there is anything different now compared with the '60s, it is that students are more cautious about trying to find that identity through politics out of fear of disappointment.

## Life is such a drag

Kathleen O'Neil, a senior at Boston College and an active environmentalist, expressed some of that caution. "Because America was so turbulent and unstable through our formative years, there wasn't any institution I could trust," she said. "I never had any secure, rooted beliefs. I just feel everything is mixed up. You can't despair: nothing will ever be accomplished. You just have to find your own small way of doing something." Discussing current events in a journalism class had pulled her out of a "life is such a drag" stage.

"I was disillusioned—no, I guess I never had any illusion. I just had no faith in government. They didn't know what was going on, and I didn't have any faith in big oil or big business. Our age group ran into Watergate, and said, 'What can you do? Fuck this. Let's get stoned.' We thought: 'Let's just do what makes us happy,' not in a selfish way, but more for survival."

Were there any people you ever looked up to, any heroes? I asked. There was a very long silence. Finally, she guessed that in high school she and friends had looked up to some rock musicians—the Who, David Bowie, Bob Dylan, Phil Ochs. It was a nearly universal response: there has been no Fidel, Ho, Che—or even JFK—for the students of the late '70s. Kathleen was typical, too, in shunning political labels and doubting whether "left" or "right" really meant anything. From her environmentalist politics she got a network of friends, but most of all, Kathleen said, "I feel a positive commitment that makes me feel bet-

ter about myself, the world and my hope for the future."

The intense need for this self-defining moral dimension sets student politics off and limits it even as it generates its special energy. For example, despite the efforts of students at some schools—among them Cornell and the University of Michigan—to develop student support for labor, most students are quite ignorant of unions and not terribly sympathetic.

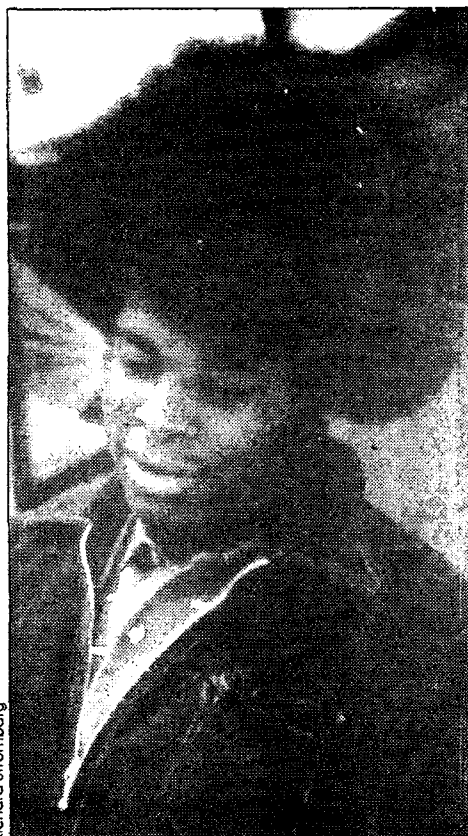
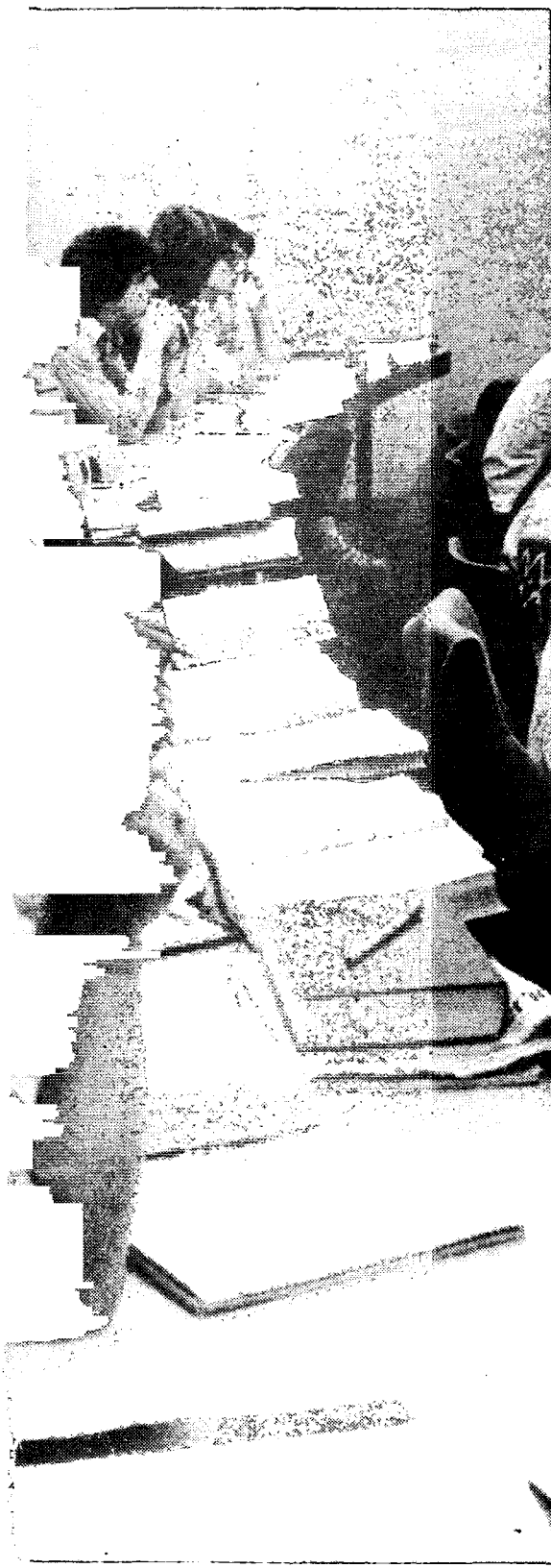
Gene Carroll, who worked for a while as campus coordinator of the J.P. Stevens boycott, developed a special strategy to combat such anti-unionism. "I de-emphasized that J.P. Stevens is a union issue," he said. "I talked about it as a human rights issue—democratic control, free speech, healthy working conditions, social justice. Students generally really respond to that." But laid-off autoworkers and steelworkers could probably find few allies on campus.

The one political movement that has captured continuing support of the vast majority of students, despite their cynicism, is environmentalism. Even politically conservative students tend to see themselves as environmentalists. It is also the basis for the more limited but still widespread opposition to nuclear power, one of the most durable campus movements, although more concentrated on the two coasts.

Defense of nature has supplanted defense of oppressed people for many students. Social justice seems elusive, and eradication of poverty in the U.S. no longer seems possible. Also, there is simply less sympathy for—certainly little empathy with—the poor, except perhaps in distant third world countries. People, including the poor, are too ignoble and complex. In this retreat from a recalcitrant society, nature has become the repository of morality, the only thing really worth fighting for. In the revulsion against a corrupted social life, nature stands opposed to society.

The "natural" ideology, well-exploited

*Continued on following page.*





Continued from previous page.

by merchandisers to students, also carries with it a distrust of technology. On energy issues, it often leads students to support higher energy prices as a means to conservation and frugal living, disregarding the effect on poor people.

## The apartheid catalyst

Ironically, the main movement that triggered the campus political resurgence was opposition to apartheid in South Africa. In late 1975 a small group at Stanford that had been involved in New Left causes and counterculture cooperatives conducted a sit-in against J.P. Stevens. Then they turned to investigation of university ties to corporations, remembering from campus religious groups the issue of apartheid in South Africa and earlier campaigns about university investment policy initiated in 1970 by black students. When they discovered massive investment by the university in corporations that did business in South Africa, they marched on the administration, demanding divestment of those holdings.

The march turned into a sit-in, and 296 students were arrested. A wave of support welled up on campus, despite organized conservative opposition, factionalism from left sectarians and the drain on time of legal defense. But students were turned on by the campaign, not only because of injustice in South Africa, as Ellen Byrne recalls, but also because it was an opportunity to strike back at pro-corporate Stanford. "It was a way of taking power over our lives," she said. "It was about ethics and how people live. To expose Stanford for what it really was, that was important for me."

The university didn't change much, but the campus political climate across the country did. Dozens of other schools were affected as word spread, partly through the Catalyst project Stanford students started. The Soweto riots and the murder of Steve Biko gave a crucial boost at the beginning. Anti-apartheid demonstrations, sit-ins and divestment campaigns hit dozens of other campuses in the following years, especially 1977 to 1979. Elite campuses were most affected, and as usual they led in general campus political activity, although the less prestigious private and large state schools have been important centers of activity, too. A few partial victories were won, but in most instances students were unable to budge administrators, trustees, most faculty and even many fellow students worried about possible financial problems for their schools. Ironically, black students rarely became involved. Generally, they saw white students as controlling the movement, and many were disdainful of white concern for racism in South Africa rather than in the U.S.

Now the anti-apartheid movement has largely faded, but for a while it had spread quickly, stirred a new enthusiasm and—despite the relative lack of media coverage—created some sense of a national movement. Such images are important, for students today—just as in the '60s—rely on the media validation of their efforts to generate a sense of having power. For example, the publicity received by the anti-nuclear movement—which is basically a non-student movement, even though it draws large numbers of students into a variety of activities—has helped it grow, and its off-campus strength overcomes some of the typical vicissitudes of student politics.

The reluctance of students to commit themselves to all-embracing causes and the fragmentation of interest groups and constituencies has diffused the thrust of student politics. There have been few efforts to pull together the various strands. The most important exception has been the Youth Section of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, which has grown since 1976 to 30 chapters and 1,200 members, of whom perhaps 500 are campus activists.

"There is a political void on campus where DSOC can build between the sectarian left, which is attracting no one, and the liberal students, which on campus attract very little support because

they don't offer any vision, let alone a program, to excite anyone," Mark Levinson, last year's DSOC Youth Section chair, said.

DSOC students work in most of the single-issue campaigns, from anti-apartheid to the draft, and emphasize building coalitions where they especially try to bring a pro-labor perspective. (For example, attacking not only the formal draft but also the "economic draft" of high minority youth unemployment.)

But DSOC's emphasis on unions and electoral work runs against the grain of campus enthusiasms. Edward Kennedy, the DSOC choice in the primary, generated little campus support, probably less than Jerry Brown and nowhere near the excitement stirred up by John Anderson.

Anderson's appeal is instructive. His student supporters liked his appearance of being intelligent and educated. They felt that he was fresh and honest. They were turned on by his strong statements in favor of women's rights to abortion or other civil libertarian issues and generally not too dismayed by his indifference to labor and the poor.

Anderson also managed to tap the radical individualism that is common on campus. This sympathy for unfettered individual freedom is also the basis for the substantial support on campus for the anti-government Libertarians, whose Students for a Libertarian Society—founded in 1978—has 1,500 members and groups on over 100 campuses. The Libertarians, like DSOC, attempt to embrace numerous issues, but their big success has been in leading movements against registration and the draft. "The draft issue is a symbolic, almost esthetically perfect Libertarian issue," SLS national director Milton Mueller said. "It reveals what we're talking about ethically and politically." On many of the issues of civil liberties, peace and militarism the Libertarian and democratic left positions are similar. On economic matters, they can capitalize on the commonplace cynicism about both government and big business.

A new offshoot of Tom Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy, Students for Economic Democracy, now has several hundred members at a wide range of California campuses. Unlike DSOC, however, it is much more focused on campus issues—housing, military involvement, educational democracy, socially responsible investments. Elsewhere, there are local progressive coalitions on similar issues, and nationally the United States Student Association takes strong left positions on campus and national political issues.

More important, there is the Nader-in-

itiated network of Public Interest Research Groups, which are usually funded by check-off fees from students at participating colleges. The PIRGs emphasize careful research, exposes, lobbying, and legislative work largely on behalf of students as consumers—everything from guides to the best buys in beers to manuals on women's health to passage of the truth-in-testing legislation and environmentalist programs, such as bottle deposit bills or a nuclear moratorium.

But the vast majority of students who consider themselves involved in politics—which is a small minority of all students—operate through small, local groups or informal networks. Often they are suspicious of organization and hierarchy, a sentiment especially common among environmentalists and anti-nuclear activists. In many cases, especially on the west coast, there remains a network of cooperatives, natural food stores and other counter-cultural institutions that gives the sense of an alternative way of life.

Indeed "alternatives" are for many students an alternative to politics in the sense of collective organization, protest or influence on government. The alternatives usually embrace solar energy, "natural foods," and a simple lifestyle—which needless to say does not preclude a few high-tech treasures, such as stereos. At one end, alternatives fade out into esoteric mixes of spiritual disciplines or the varieties of therapeutic experience, but the guiding light of this large apolitical politics is the desire for direct action to change one's life, consciousness and immediate surroundings in order to change society. For some students, eating vegetarian is their primary political activity.

To a certain extent, the black movement and—in a different way—the women's movement have also become subcultures that serve as "alternatives" for their members. There has been no resurgence among black students during the past few years, and little reason to expect a dramatic change in the near future. Existing black organizations function mainly as social clubs and retreats for mutual support. Black and whites rarely mix much on campus.

If white students have a bad case of depression because of powerlessness, blacks have it worse. They see even less reason to believe political action works and suffer what Cornell student Ed Kennedy calls the culture shock of being "thrown in with filthy rich folks and with people who may have better credentials. So there's a tendency to draw within. There may be a community without a common program of how to go forward."

"Most black students are very conservative," James Ellerby, co-chairman of the Black Student Organization at Columbia, says. "They're usually concerned with education, middle-class values, getting ahead. All of us consider corporations to be exploiters and racists, but we all feel we have to work within them."

The feminist subculture remains more political, although its concerns tend to focus on protection of women against the worst male abuses—violence and rape—and often spill over to attacks on pornography as a corollary. But often the women's groups appear to the majority of campus women as cliquish and anti-male, sometimes because they're dominated by lesbians.

The irony is that the women's movement has had a tremendous impact. Women students are entering fields they barely considered before. Women are leaders in all kinds of student organizations. The vast majority of men and women are aware of and somewhat sympathetic to women's movement themes.

Yet at most campuses the women's movement has not been able to take credit for its successes or to involve large numbers of women. And often women—in elite schools particularly—want to make it on their own in competition with men and disdain collective effort.

## Prospects

What are the prospects for student politics? Even more than in the '60s, that depends on what new political force develops in the broader society. Students are unlikely to be a major motor of change on their own in the near future. Without some cataclysmic event, such as a war in the Middle East, students will not face any galvanizing crisis comparable to the war in Vietnam or the civil rights movement. Even registration and the draft are not likely to provide much more of a core for student activism than the anti-nuclear movement does.

But each new movement builds the momentum of student political activity and establishes it now outside the shadow of the '60s. In coming years, student socialists will have a greater opening to the more socially concerned students if they are rational and non-rhetorical, although independent issue-activism will predominate. The libertarians and the "alternatives" tendency will offer stiff competition for students' allegiance. But more than in the '60s, student socialists can turn to experienced leaders in labor, community organizing and politics, as well as their faculties, for help.

With college enrollment expected to drop sharply from its present peak, the character of the universities will change. By 1997, even with greater recruitment of minorities and older people, college enrollment is likely to drop by 5 to 15 percent. The Carnegie Council report on higher education predicts that schools will bend over backwards to please students—assuming they have the money to do so—and the job squeeze for graduates should ease, outside of academia. This undercuts predictions of student activism based on anticipated career frustration. But money problems and reorganization of the university may lead students in their stronger bargaining position to demand a greater role in the university, sociologist Dick Flacks suggests, either to "reshape the social meaning of education" or else to advance narrower, short-run vocational interests.

Students may not repeat the '60s but neither are they a generation lost to conservatism. They do need vision, hope, power and leadership from outside to trigger their latent desires for greater meaning in life and work.

Commenting on the large number of students who turned out for a Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda rally in Amherst, Mass., Harry Cocaine tried to put words in the mouths of his fellow students: "We're not sure how to plug in or what to, or what it means to be politically active. The sympathies are here, but the knowledge of how to become involved isn't." With the revival of campus politics, more university students are learning elements of that lesson. ■



*"We're not sure how to plug in," said one student. "The sympathies are here, but not the knowledge about how to become involved."*



## EDITORIAL

*Who benefits from big government?*

This year, all three major candidates for chief executive of the world's biggest government are running against big government, perhaps in emulation of Jimmy Carter's campaign four years ago, when he won the presidency by running against Washington and its increasing domination of American society.

Now, hailing his accomplishments in reorganizing the federal government, Carter is proposing increased coordination between government and business through the creation of "a new partnership" that includes labor as a junior partner. The key to this old innovation is his pledge to curtail even further the burdens that government imposes on business.

Meanwhile, John Anderson has called for an undefined "convocation of federalism" to review the relationship between federal, state and local government. He has proposed an "Industrial Development Council" to engage government, business and labor in a continuing review of the effects of government policies on industry.

More openly pro-corporate, Ronald Reagan is calling for a drastic reduction of government interference with business. "The problem with the economy," he says, "is swollen inefficient government, needless regulation, too much taxation, too much printing press money." The solution: "Move boldly, decisively and quickly to control the runaway growth of federal spending, remove tax disincentives that are throttling the economy and reform the regulatory web that is smothering it."

But these attempts to strike a chord that will resonate with popular discontent about the character of our government—while taking aim at some of the social gains of the past two decades—are not intended actually to end federal government involvement in the economy. No responsible representative of corporate capitalism would do that because big government is a necessary byproduct of the growth of giant corporations in advanced industrial countries like the United States.

**The origins of regulation.**

Contrary to the popular liberal view, federal regulation of the economy has been welcomed or sought by American business leaders since the late 19th century. The first federal regulatory agency, the Interstate Commerce Commission, established in 1877 to regulate the railroads, was advocated by railroad magnates, who wanted help in controlling competition in the industry and protection from demands for rebates by shippers. The ICC provided this help, and also protected railroads from regulation by state governments, some of which were controlled by anti-corporate populists. In addition, ICC regulation served to shield the railroads from outbursts of public hostility that had been common earlier.

Similarly, the Federal Trade Commission, established in 1914 with strong corporate support, acted as a buffer against popular attempts to control or break up giant corporations under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890. And in 1920, the Bureau of the Budget was established in the executive branch to remove government spending decisions from the more public and representative congressional budgetary process established in the Constitution.

Since 1920, a series of federal agencies have served to regulate business and to serve the interests of the businesses they regulate. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation, established during Herbert

Hoover's presidency, saved the American banking system from its own bankruptcy during Franklin D. Roosevelt's first term, according to Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

And a series of other New Deal agencies helped private enterprise through subsidies of one kind or another—in housing with federal mortgage guarantees, in the export trade through the Export-Import bank, in autos through highway construction, to name only a few.

Most of these regulatory agencies, both in the New Deal days and now, have been headed by leaders of major corporations in the industries they regulate—as have the various departments of the federal government. The last nine secretaries of Commerce, for example, have all been executives or directors of major banks or corporations, or they have been members of Wall Street law firms. The same is true of the last 11 secretaries of the Treasury and of most secretaries of State and Defense since World War II.

business through government is not the only cause of federal government growth. Especially in recent years, under the impact of the civil rights movement and popular mobilization against the war in Vietnam, an increasing number of social welfare functions have been assumed by government. Since 1975, social welfare expenditures have accounted for more than 50 percent of our federal budget.

The failure of private enterprise to bring the prosperity of which it boasts to a major part of the population has made it necessary for the government to assume responsibility for support of dependent families, food for the poor, medical attention for the ill and relief for the growing number of unemployed and working poor.

In addition, the social abuses of corporate conglomerates have aroused the public to push a new wave of regulatory legislation through Congress in the spheres of safety, health and the environment. Agencies like the Environmental

ter forms of regulation are what Reagan has in mind when he rails against government excess—and what Carter and Anderson appear willing to undercut.

But they are not the source of popular discontent with government. According to most polls, the public supports Medicaid, Social Security and measures designed to protect the safety and health of working people, and even environmental safeguards. The growing discontent with government, on the other hand, is paralleled by a similarly growing distrust of corporations. Confidence in the leaders of major corporations, according to a 1979 Gallup poll, has fallen from 55 percent in 1966 to 22 percent today. Only 15 percent of those polled believe that "Business tries to strike a fair balance between profits and the interests of the public," whereas 58 percent believed this ten years ago.

And a sizable majority of the American people appear to believe that the government is subservient to corporate interests, not to popular needs. In other words, there is considerable evidence that the distrust of government that has grown so rapidly in recent years is more the result of the subversion of the popular will by corporate interests in control of government than it is opposition to the social programs against which neo-conservatives are agitating.

**Socialists and big government.**

Unfortunately, big government in general, and inefficiency and the indifference of public officeholders to people's needs, are associated in many people's minds with socialism. Traditionally, of course, socialists have championed Social Security, unemployment insurance, free education, universal medical care and other forms of social welfare. But they have also allowed the idea of social control of investment to become identified with the bailout of failed businesses through nationalization, as in Britain, or other forms of subsidy to corporations that have clearly demonstrated their inability to function without public aid.

And, then, socialists have been saddled with the experience of Communist governments in pre-industrial countries like the Soviet Union, China and Cuba, where the process of industrialization that Karl Marx and all other socialists before 1917 assumed would be the historic task of the capitalist class has ended up being the responsibility of the revolutionary party in power. The result of forced industrialization in the Communist countries has been the creation of vast bureaucracies that in many ways are similar to those in the Western industrial nations. Yet these characteristics of societies that lack the industrial and social development needed for socialism, have been successfully identified as socialism by anti-socialists here and in Western Europe.

Socialists' public identification with New Deal liberals like Teddy Kennedy has strengthened the popular equation of socialism and big government as we know it here. To break out of this bind, the socialist left will have to concentrate on creating a public presence of its own. For a start, that means developing a legislative program that takes on social control of investment directly, and that begins putting leading socialists and leftists up for Congress, state legislatures and city councils. It also means developing a program of socialist federalism that will strengthen the power of state and local governments and begin dismantling the highly centralized agencies created to insulate corporate power from popular control.

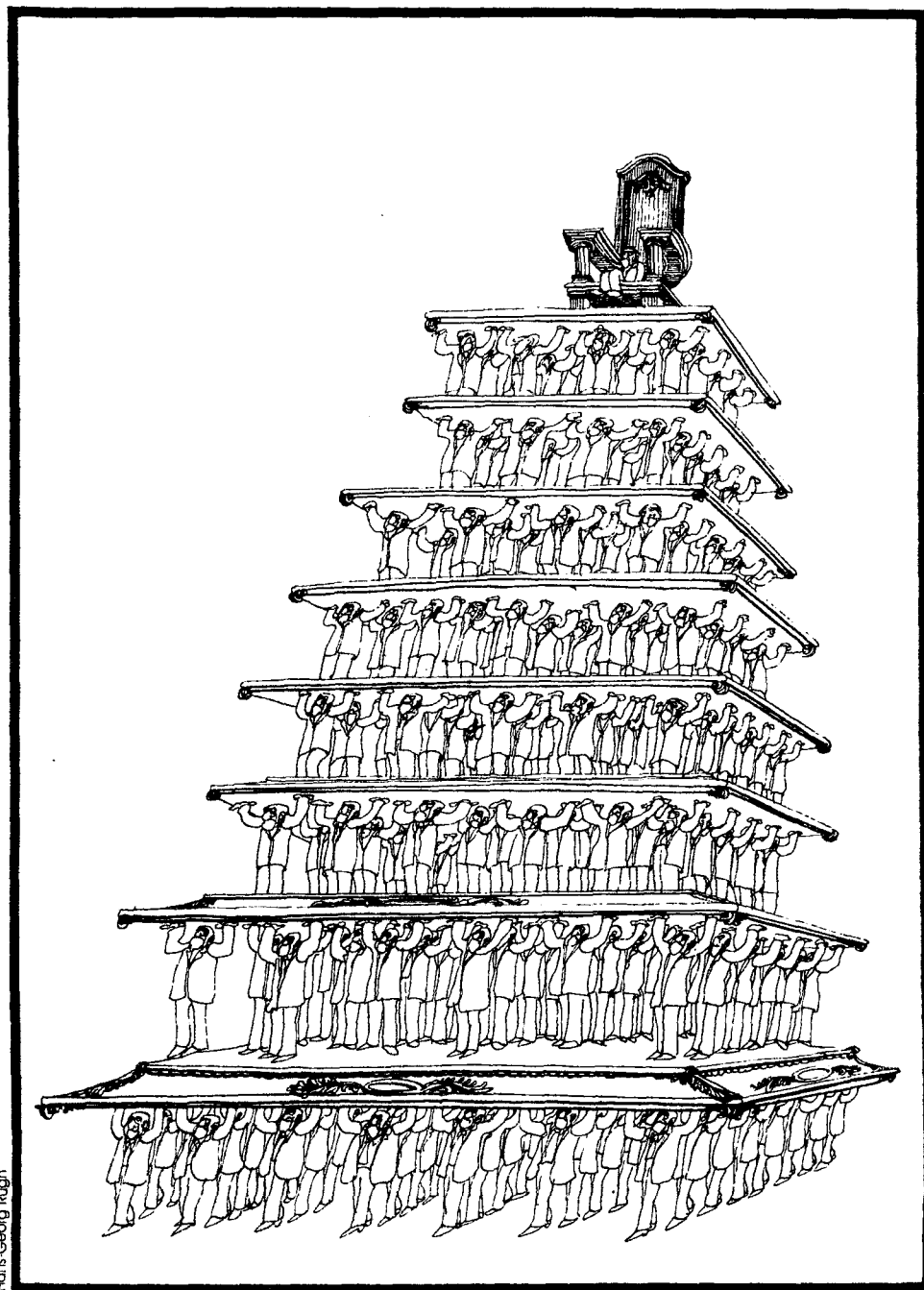
*Reagan and the other candidates are railing against government intervention in the economy, but their target is only the part that provides social services.*

In short, to the degree that government has regulated business in most areas, it has been a case of big business regulating itself and others through government.

But the self-regulation and management of the American economy by big

Protection Agency and the Occupational Safety and Health Agency, with specific mandates and jurisdictions that cut across industry boundaries, have been odious to many corporations.

It should be no surprise that these lat-





# DIALOG

## DSOC program goes well beyond left liberals

We disagree with your characterization of the role and position of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), the Democratic Agenda and the democratic left in general in your coverage and editorial about the Democratic National Convention (ITT, Aug. 27). John Judis wrote that the democratic left presented no alternative to Keynesian liberalism or Carter-style conservatism, and that it was "reluctant" to take positions beyond those of the presidential candidates; Dave Moberg said that none of the efforts to resist Carter's policies "had impact," and the editorial summed things up by speaking of "the inability of the [Socialist] caucus or the larger Democratic Agenda group to come up with a program that went beyond that of the Kennedy forces."

In fact, the Democratic Agenda program goes far beyond that of the Kennedy forces at the Convention. Democratic Agenda has called for a "new" New Deal to move beyond standard liberal solutions: specifically, a planned full employment economy, a comprehensive national health care program, redistributive tax reform, community, rather than corporate, control over economic decision-making and the social control of investment. The Democratic Agenda program is a far-ranging series of structural economic reforms remarkable for having attracted the support of many important labor and liberal constituencies.

### ITT misrepresented the role of Democratic Agenda at the recent convention in New York, say leaders.

Given the nature of the Democratic Party nominating convention it was impossible to bring this entire program to the floor. It required a 25 percent vote of the platform committee to bring a minority plank to the floor. The Democratic Agenda endorsed eight specific minority planks, four of which were in the Kennedy platform, four of which were not. Of the four independently-sponsored planks—federal chartering of the oil companies, opposition to the MX missile, support for the ERA and reproductive freedom—two provided important victories for the women's movement, opposition to the MX mis-

sile panicked the administration sufficiently to send handwritten notes to the delegates from Carter, and federal chartering raised an important anti-corporate issue. Of the Kennedy-sponsored planks, two—solar energy and jobs—gained significant support from both Carter and Kennedy delegates during the Convention.

By every expectation, Carter should have controlled the Convention easily. He had a 60 percent majority of the delegates, all the powers of the incumbency, and absolute control over all Convention arrangements. In fact, his attempt to get the Democratic Party to endorse his economic strategy failed and the platform now reflects the economic solutions of both the left and the right simultaneously. Carter's "fight inflation first" language now coexists with cautions against fighting inflation with recession and numerous commitments to full employment and social programs.

Such a platform may not change Carter's economic policy. However, as we have argued for some time, platform issues can effectively focus public attention on major economic issues. Senator Kennedy's speech helped dramatize these issues and, in general, there was more coverage of possible left economic alternatives by the major media during the Convention platform fights than at any other time in this election year. In addition, many concerned activists and leaders in the party led a revolt from the floor and insisted on writing a platform that they felt reflected traditional Democratic priorities.

Based on the ferment that we see in the Democratic Party, we believe that activists at the grass roots will be increasingly adamant in pushing progressive issues. We would have liked to have had a better and more consistent platform this year, and a candidate to run on it, but these were failures of strength, not of the will to formulate program and strategy. DSOC is committed to encouraging a national issues debate on political program, and we will encourage our allies in the Democratic Agenda coalition effort to continue to push for progressive economic reforms. We must continue to build a grass-roots political movement that can elect candidates on a progressive platform at all levels of government, up to and including the presidency.

—James B. Chapin  
National Director, DSOC

—Cynthia Ward  
Democratic Agenda Coordinator

## The editor's reply

We apologize for any statement in either our news report on the Democratic convention or in our editorial that stated or implied that DSOC and the Democratic Agenda do not have programs that go beyond the New Deal liberalism of the Kennedy forces. We know that both DSOC and the Democratic Agenda do have such programs, and we had no intention of misrepresenting them on this point.

We were trying to make another point: that DSOC's primary emphasis on presidential politics and on national conventions of the Democratic Party locks it into a situation where its programs remain unheard by the American people and outside the realm of practical politics.

The positions that the Democratic Agenda has taken were not articulated during the Convention, nor did they, or could they, become a focus of public debate, even at the Agenda's own meeting in Town Hall. Not as a result of loss of nerve or lack of principle, but as a matter of necessity the Democratic Agenda and the Democratic left in general was largely subordinated to the Kennedy campaign that it supported. Chapin and Ward concede this point in their comment on the given nature of the Democratic Party nominating convention. It is the same point in both John Judis' article and in our editorial.

Being fully committed to Kennedy's nomination, which made good sense under the circumstances, DSOC and the Democratic Agenda had to become identified in the public mind, if at all, with Kennedy's \$12 billion jobs plank—the only plank on which debate focused. This was in its sentiment a left issue, but it reflects both a Keynesian interest group and a short term approach to stagflation, a patch-work approach that has already failed as a long-term solution to the problems of unemployment and inflation. DSOC's and the Democratic Agenda's own programs make this point—on paper. But their lack of an independent popular base, including their own groups of legislators, makes it impossible to make this point to the public at large, or in legislative debate.

The problem is how to be able to function within the framework of presidential politics as an independent force. And the point of our editorial was that this can be done only by shifting the primary emphasis of socialist activities to the legislative field, by electing people to Congress and to state legislatures and city councils on the basis of our own programs. Once that is done, and it will have to be done if we are to have a socialist presence in American politics, the socialist left will be able to play a more significant role in presidential years.

The new right has learned this lesson well. It's time we caught up.

## Peoples Convention was treated unfairly

Your treatment of the recent People's Convention and Demonstration organized by the Coalition for a People's Alternative in 1980 just before the Democratic National Convention (ITT, Aug. 27) has to be one of the most flagrant examples of sectarianism in left journalism in quite some time. It appears that *In These Times* has a commitment not to reporting the truth about what is happening on the left but, instead, to reporting only the news that you see fit to print that serves your political purposes. How else can one interpret the misleading, inaccurate paragraph found in the middle of Moberg's story.

What happened at the People's Convention? Fifteen hundred registered delegates and 2,000-3,000 more people attended. These were grass-roots people from the South Bronx, from elsewhere in New York City and from a wide variety of movements around the country that have not been together for years—labor, neighborhoods, Black, Puerto Rican, Native American, women's, lesbian/gay, religious left, international solidarity and others. They met on Charlotte Street, in the middle of the South Bronx, at the location where Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan came in 1977 and 1980 to make their empty promises to rebuild this devastated inner-city area. They spent two days talking together in plenary sessions, in workshops and informally. And they overwhelmingly adopted, in a strong spirit of unity, a "Declaration of Charlotte Street," a statement putting forward an overall people's program for this country dealing with domestic and international issues. It included, by the way, contrary to the statement made by Moberg that electoral politics was shunned "in any form in favor of protest by an amalgam of 'oppressed' constituencies," endorsement for support of independent and progressive candidates who back the Declaration.

The next day, 10,000 to 15,000 people (not Moberg's "a few thousand") marched down Seventh Avenue to Madison Square Garden for a rally. They heard from, among others, William Winpisinger (president of the IAM), Maggie Kuhn (leader of the Grey Panthers), Ella Baker (long-time activist and leader in the black liberation move-

ment), Rafael Cancel Miranda (Puerto Rican *independista* recently released from prison after 25 years), Ted Means (leader in the American Indian Movement) and Dave Dellinger (anti-war and anti-nuclear activist).

The fact that these activities were massive, that they were unified, that such a diverse grouping of organizers came together for three days with the expressed purpose of planning to continue working together in the future—these were worthy of more than one snide paragraph of coverage from "The Independent Socialist Newspaper." The "establishment" press saw fit to give these activities quite a bit of coverage. Besides TV and radio spots, there were articles appearing in the local newspapers across the country, from Los Angeles to Buffalo, from Ft. Lauderdale to Chicago.

With concern,

—Ted Glick  
National Committee member  
Coalition for a People's Alternative

## The editor's reply

Every four years since 1968 some group like the Coalition for a People's Alternative is formed by assorted radicals to demonstrate at Democratic or Republican party conventions. Each time their convenors make claims for them similar to those made by Glick, or like those made by Leslie Cagan (Letters, Sept. 10), that the demonstrators "look forward to participating in electoral politics."

But although these groups disdain participation in the "two-party system" (they never tell us what other system there is in this country), their activity is organized around that system, and entirely on its margins, to put it generously. And even though the groups described by Cagan and Glick have been around and forming coalitions for almost 20 years, they are still looking forward to participating in politics.

In our view, this is not politics, but a moralistic substitute for politics that leaves its participants feeling righteous, and ready to start again in four years for the 1984 convention of one of the two parties they disdain.

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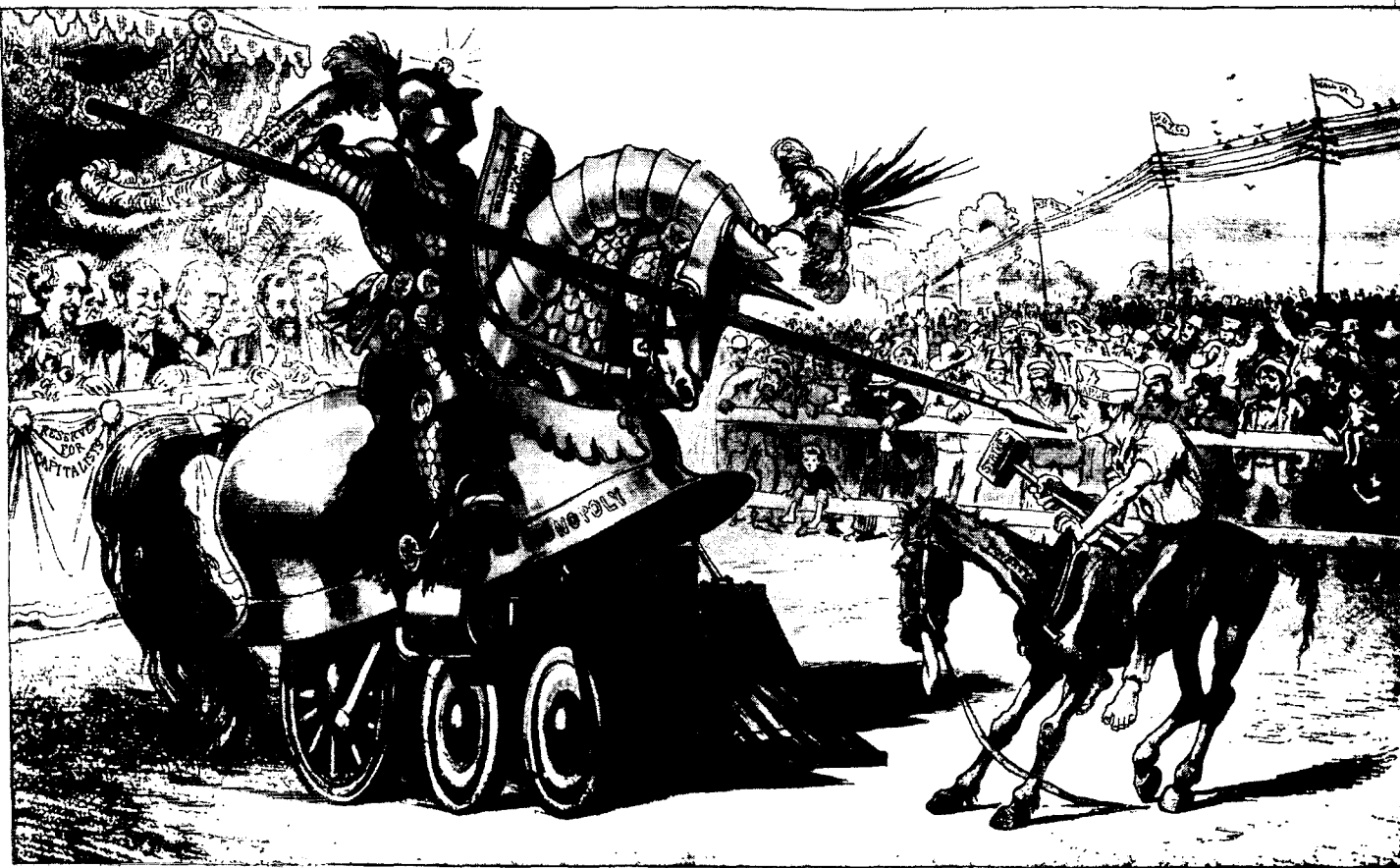
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# LABOR HISTORY



## Labor confronts monopoly in the post-Civil War days

THIS ARTICLE IS THE FOURTH IN A SERIES on the history of labor in American politics intended to shed light on current strategies for labor.

To assess the present options confronting the labor movement, it is essential to know the realities of its past politics. Given the power of private property and the cultural diversity of America's working people, it was inevitable that movements resisting the evils of capitalism would differ on how—or whether—private property could be made to serve the public good.

The series examines these differences. It explores tensions and alliances between various social movements. And it assesses the impact of liberal and radical organizations on working-class political actions, showing what conditions led to the rise and fall of anarchist, socialist and communist parties, where participating in the mainstream brought gains and where losses, and why independent labor and farm-labor parties arose.

By Alan Dawley

**W**HO IS LABOR'S ENEMY? Some say the capitalist system. Others point to the big monopolies. Others feel it is the anti-union employers and their right-wing henchmen. The question is no more resolved today than it was a century ago, when it was first being thrashed out.

In the years after the Civil War, industrial capitalism finally established its supremacy. Giant monopolies were springing up in railroads, oil and steel. Companies were dead set against unions. An arrogant lot of Robber Barons showered contempt on the public and their employees alike. "The public be damned," said Cornelius Vanderbilt. "I can hire half the working class to shoot the other half," said Jay Gould.

As this upstart oligarchy of predatory wealth came to dominate national politics, workers and farmers wondered what had happened to the republican principles they had so recently defended with their lives in the war against slave masters. They organized against their new masters of monopoly.

As the country emerged from the Civil

War its destiny remained in the hands of the Republican coalition of business, farmers and working men. Northern workers were a vital part of the coalition, and so long as there remained a threat of renewed planter aggression, they supported Republican policies. Thus when Southern planters enacted "Black Codes" that restored everything in slavery but the name and President Johnson showed sympathy, most working people backed the Radical Republicans in Congress, who took command of the federal government and sent Union troops back into the South to protect freed slaves.

Still, sympathy for the plight of blacks was tempered by suspicion of the businessmen who acted as their benefactors. Labor leaders sometimes complained that the slave had been freed, but northern wage earners remained "wage slaves."

One sign of worker disaffection with business leadership in national politics was the National Labor Union. Founded in 1866 with Sylvius as its leading light, the NLU signaled a new stage in working-class organization. It was the first nationwide expression of a community of interest among wage earners, though it also maintained friendly relations with farmers and other producers. It campaigned for government Greenbacks, expulsion of speculators from public land and the eight-hour day, which it won for federal employees.

The NLU was part of a larger movement of Labor Reform that combatted evil by exhorting or legislating against it. Labor reformers like Terrence Powderly, Grand Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, combined a sacred reverence for the ballot with a philosophy of laissez-faire, which meant that the chief task for a political office holder was to avoid corruption—no mean feat when railroad tycoons bragged about bribing legislators on the installment plan, \$1000 down and \$1000 when their bill passed. Every big city had its city hall gang, of which the Tweed Ring in New York was the most infamous. They saw to it that big contributors could go about their business unmolested. In return for labor votes, urban bosses paid off in jobs and favors, first to keep city unions weak, later to keep them quiet.

Thus the field was controlled by well-entrenched Republican or Democratic machines by the time labor reformers

entered the battle. Their high-minded rhetoric—they were forever appealing to temperance and manliness—and their non-partisan stance—vote for the man, not the party—were not just moral posturing but also were designed to detach labor voters from the saloon keeper and ward leader (often the same man) who ran the party's machine.

Reformers looked forward to the eventual abolition of "wage slavery" altogether. Believing that labor was the

*With the end of Reconstruction in 1877, labor was shut out of the two parties and was on its own.*

source of all wealth, they envisioned a time when labor would own the wealth it produced and industry would be run cooperatively. Ira Steward, a self-educated Boston machinist, worked out the details of the transition to cooperation through the eight-hour day. He reasoned that shortening hours would reduce the time the laborer worked to enrich his employer, and once the eight-hour day became universal, the laborer would be working exclusively for himself. In short, labor and capital would merge. This hoped-for harmony accounts for the enormous popularity of Edward Bellamy's utopian novel *Looking Backward*, a fantasy of cooperative production and distribution in the ideal city of the future.

The gap between noble aspiration and practical achievement was, inevitably, large. A Labor Reform Party entered the field, elected a handful of candidates mostly in Massachusetts, and then disappeared. The eight-hour movement gained several state laws in addition to the federal statute, but legalizing the eight-hour day meant nothing without enforcement.

Nonetheless, Labor Reform left a significant legacy. The non-partisan strategy, stripped of its moralistic trappings, became the American Federation of La-

bor's "reward your friends, punish your enemies." The cooperative commonwealth inspired the Knights of Labor to renew the eight-hour struggle and to fight for a republic governed by its producers. The most significant labor organization of the 19th century, the Knights, not only enrolled more members than anyone else, but also confronted head-on the huge trusts that were coming to dominate the nation's railroads, mines and mills. In strikes against Jay Gould's railroad system and with a massive educational campaign against the predatory values of acquisitive individualism, the brotherhood of the Knights—men and women, skilled and unskilled, black and white—counterposed themselves to the greedy ambitions of the Robber Barons. Their encounter with the power of monopoly forced them to drop their laissez-faire assumptions and to adopt demands for public regulation and, in the case of railroads, public ownership.

The realignment of political forces that culminated with the end of Reconstruction in 1877 fostered this evolution toward collective solutions to labor's wrongs. Politics had turned for more than a generation around a North-South axis. A new axis pitted farmers and workers against big business. The Republican coalition began to come apart in the face of Labor Reformers' demands, and crumbled further when immigrant workers, notably the Irish, moved into the Democratic Party, and Middle Western farmers pushed through state laws governing railroad freight rates. Radical Republicans, fast reaching the end of their Reconstruction agenda, were unwilling to add agrarian reform in the South to their list. Unalterably opposed to property in slaves, they were passionately devoted to property in just about everything else. Confiscating planter estates for wholesale redistribution to former slaves was not on their agenda.

When the Democrats won the popular vote in 1876 and held the presidency hostage for a Republican promise to pull federal troops out of the South, the Republicans were willing. Northern businessmen and Southern planters put aside their differences to make a common defense of property interests.

It was none too soon. Six months after the Compromise of 1877 the country was convulsed by the biggest strike ever. Touched off by railroad wage cuts, tens of thousands of people struck. Dozens were killed and millions of dollars in property was destroyed. The new Republican president, Rutherford B. Hayes, sent in federal troops recently withdrawn from the South to put down the strike. The ensuing realignment of political forces kept the working class isolated from national influence for the next quarter century. That, in turn, compelled working people to embark on a search for new political strategies.

Most radical of the emerging groups was the Social Revolutionaries, who combined anarchist hatred for the state with syndicalist faith in workers' ability to take power on their own. Founded by a splinter of the Socialist Labor Party, they joined forces with Johann Most and the International Working People's Association in 1881. Bloody suppression of the 1877 strikes engendered popular hatred for government authorities, especially for the Coal and Iron Police and Pinkerton guards who often did the dirty work. Social Revolutionaries gave vent to these feelings and expressed the bitterness toward economic exploitation felt by many German and Bohemian immigrants, who were the largest contingents in their ranks. In German-speaking neighborhoods of Cincinnati and St. Louis, woodcarvers, typographers and other working people with a little classical education, a love for romantic literature and a touch of atheism, organized sports competitions, music festivals and galas for the IWPA. Newspapers like the *Chicago Arbeiter Zeitung* (Workers Journal) were the nerve centers of the movement, through which, in secret code, the armed units of the *Lehr und Wehr Verein* (Educational and Fighting Union) were mustered. In Chicago a large German membership in the Central Labor

*Continued on page 22.*



# INPRINT

## POLITICS

# How to play the game

**The Permanent Campaign: Inside the World of Elite Political Operatives**

By Sidney Blumenthal  
Beacon Press, \$12.95

**Playing to Win: An Insider's Guide to Politics**

By Jeff Greenfield  
Simon and Schuster, \$11.95

By Jim Chapin

Both these books concern the techniques of modern American politics. Sidney Blumenthal's *The Permanent Campaign* focuses on the rise and development of a new and powerful profession: full-time political consulting. Consultants are now so basic to the political process, he argues, that no campaign for major political office has a chance for victory without a top-flight professional. (One of Ted Kennedy's chief problems, he has suggested, was that his campaign had the least input by such professionals of any recent presidential foray.) Jeff Greenfield's *Playing to Win* is an analysis of the modern campaign from inside. Greenfield, who spent a decade as an aide to Dave Garth, gives a witty view of the way that one of the new consultants might analyze a campaign he was running himself.

Blumenthal and Greenfield have different views as to the significance of the new techniques of modern politics. Blumenthal believes they have been crucial in developing a new style of politics. They have combined the psychological techniques of Freud with the military techniques of Clausewitz in a way that has influenced not only the electoral process but also the governing process. He suggests, surely partly tongue-in-cheek, that what they are developing is an American bourgeois equivalent to Trotsky's permanent revolution.

The best part of the Blumenthal book is that he has interviewed almost all the leading consultants. Especially valuable is that he has combined his interviews with a keen historical sense not typical of many who write about modern political techniques. Thus his first interview is with E.L. Bernays (still alive!), the nephew of Freud who first introduced Freudian techniques to American capitalism. Bernays applied the rational mind to instinct and pioneered the "engineering of consent."

In the interviews, two types of consultants emerge: the "centrist" wizards of the mass media and the "ideological" masters of direct mail. The first group develops techniques that appeal to fluidity—to that part of the electorate most likely to be swayed. Since those voters who are not fluid are not valuable, the unwitting lesson that these experts are teaching the public is that fluidity is rational, loyalty to a party or a cause counterproductive. Alienation breeds alienation, and the voters and politicians engage in a circle of diminishing returns.

On the other side of the coin



Richard Viguerie recruits the right wing through direct mail.

are those who want stable, issue-oriented politics. Left out of the TV-based political game, they perfect the politics of ideological recruitment through the use of direct mail. In comparing the successful efforts of New Right mail entrepreneur Richard Viguerie with the emerging efforts of New Leftist Richard Parker, Blumenthal leaves open the

question of whether Viguerie is right when he says that the market for his ideological product is necessarily greater than that for Parker's.

### Technique.

Jeff Greenfield does not agree with Blumenthal that the "rules of the game" have changed. He thinks that the new techniques

are simply elaborations on the basic old rules of American politics. For example, "it is a political proposition that has remained true for more than a century that the surest way to catapult yourself into national prominence is to deliver a notable public address." This has been as true for Ronald Reagan as it was for Abraham Lincoln, William Jennings Bryan and Franklin Roosevelt. The first key to any campaign, Greenfield suggests, is still the same: "What is the premise on which you run for office?"

Both Greenfield and Blumenthal, despite their differences, suggest that there is an ideological root beneath the triumph of technique in American life. Why have consultants had so much less effect in other countries? Listen to Blumenthal, talking about the joint overseas operations of conservative Republican Clifton White and liberal Democrat Joseph Napolitan: "Abroad, the differences between the Democrat and the Republican blur and they appear only as practitioners of the latest American techniques. Because parties exercise tight control over politics in Europe the consultants do not act as agents of nonalignment. The parties there are more clearly class-based, with definite programs and ideological perspectives; consultants are rarely more than mere operatives."

Or listen to Jeff Greenfield, writing about how to lose an election: "Politicians fear the stigma of 'irresponsibility' more than any other label. This can cover a multitude of sins, including a political ideology that openly argues that wealthy and powerful people have a disproportionate share of wealth and power. (When Jimmy Carter said in his 1976 acceptance speech that there are some Americans who, by virtue of their power, are exempt from the painful consequences of mistaken public policies, *The New York Times* attacked him for five straight days, so frightening Mr. Carter that he probably decided then and there to hire establishmentarians Cyrus Vance and Zbigniew Brzezinski.)"

American politics continues to be dominated by the entrepren-

eurial mode. As Greenfield suggests: "The premise that politics can alter the course of our nation is in disrepute. But, just as clearly, the political life has lost none of its appeal as an enterprise." What makes politics an appealing enterprise is its drama, its (relative) meritocracy, the possibility of acquiring wealth, as well as the appeal it has to one's sense of importance and self-worth. Greenfield, I think, underestimates the effects that the destruction of the "political farm system" and the loss of moral value attached to political entrepreneurship have on American political life.

Greenfield ends his book by suggesting that Americans be allowed to buy and sell their votes: "Since the politicians have been buying votes with their promises—and with our tax money—vote selling is nothing new. The only real difference is that it would eliminate the middleman, permitting us to buy and sell in the deepest tradition of the American Way of Life."

Both the Blumenthal and Greenfield books are excellent reading for those who want to understand some of the political and electoral aspects of our present problems. We on the left face the problem of how to deal with a capital-intensive political process that not only is dominated by great wealth, but is also permeated with primarily marketing conceptions of the nature and possibilities of politics. Our problem is not only overcoming the power of our opponents, but also finding ideas and concepts of the political life that are genuinely different from those now available.

Socialists continue not to take politics itself as a process and a discipline very seriously, even though in fact what they are proposing to do is to replace an economic model of society with a political one. Until there is serious thought about what socialist models of a political process might be, the world that Blumenthal and Greenfield lay out so accurately will continue to be the political world in which we must live.

Jim Chapin is the National Secretary of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

## AMERICAN LITERATURE

# Rich sampler from the little magazines

**The Pushcart Prize, IV: Best of the Small Presses**  
Bill Henderson, ed.  
Avon, 591 pp., \$7.95

**The Pushcart Prize, V: Best of the Small Presses**  
Bill Henderson, ed.  
The Pushcart Press, 608 pp., \$17.95 (clothbound)

By Karen Rosenberg

There is an old American tradition of bemoaning the state of our literature and looking nostalgically at Europe or some other location where the arts are ostensibly flourishing and appreciated. A second oft-repeated lament lingers nostalgically on a particular era like the early part of this century when American letters are said to have reached a height which they have never attained again. Probably no list of the outstanding creative works produced in the U.S. in recent years can stop such death knells. But if you hear someone launching into that song about our culture being unremittingly com-

mercial, why not throw the *Pushcart Prize* at him—all five volumes.

This yearly anthology reprints poems, short stories, essays and translations from little magazines and small presses all over the country and in Canada. Many of the works are nominated by the publishers and editors themselves. The goal is to republish the most successful literary products of the year. A great deal of quality work is not included—the list of other "outstanding writers" and "outstanding small presses" (the runners-up) given in the last four volumes suggests the abundance of worthy material.

In going through the fifth and most recent *Pushcart Prize* anthology and the fourth, now reprinted in paperback by Avon, one is also struck by the literary diversity in America today. The editor of the series, Bill Henderson, and his co-workers deserve special praise for their non-sectarian approach. They avoid the ingrown quality of many small press ventures. In each volume,

they primarily print the work of authors and presses not included in the preceding anthologies. And they offer a range of styles, relatively traditional good-plot-and-character stories side by side with "avant-garde" writing. You may like the works you least expected to.

There are surprises in the nonfiction realm as well. Frank Kermode's essay "Institutional Control of Interpretation" in the latest *Pushcart Prize* volume plays hide and seek with the reader, hinting at the author's doubts about new trends in literary criticism but concluding with an unsatisfying "I do not offer an opinion." I thought Michael Anania's piece on the American literary magazine since 1950 might be a self-congratulatory report, but it chronicled the competition for grants that divides the journals, proving that a little bit of money is a dangerous thing.

Big names can find an outlet in the little presses. John Updike has a poem in volume four and pieces by Cynthia Ozick,

John Hollander and Robert Penn Warren can be found in the fifth. A writer's first published work is sometimes reprinted in the series. That was the case with the fine stories by Judith Hoover, Christine Schutt and Shirley Ann Taggart in *The Pushcart Prize, IV*. I found out about Margaret Atwood and Andre Dubus, talents I had missed when they first appeared, by browsing through the third volume.

The plethora of little publications is intimidating and frustrating to the uninitiated. Who has the time, the sustained energy, the money or the library with which to explore this territory? The Pushcart Press provides a valuable service in its consistently high-quality selection.

Karen Rosenberg teaches Slavic languages at Williams College. *Pushcart Prize, V* and previous volumes in the series may be ordered from Pushcart Press, Box 845, Yonkers, NY 10701. Avon books has reprinted all editions through number IV in paperback.





Allen Dulles (left) on tour for the CIA. Insert: brother John.

## MIDDLE EAST

# I was a spy for the Dulles gang

**Ropes of Sand: America's Failure in the Middle East**  
By Wilbur Crane Eveland  
Norton, \$16.95

By Edward Gold

If Henry Kissinger thought he was the Lone Ranger, single-handedly carrying on our foreign policy on the frontiers of civilization, he was following a time-honored tradition in American diplomacy. Throughout the Eisenhower years, the Dulles brothers, Allen as CIA chief and John Foster as Secretary of State, headed up the James Gang of international relations. They not only couldn't shoot straight; they also aimed at the wrong targets. Unfortunately, they used real bullets and suitcases full of real dollars.

*Ropes of Sand* is the account of a member of the Dulles gang, Wilbur Crane Eveland, a man who today is concerned about the role he played in the recent history of the Middle East.

Eveland was an operative in the nether reaches of diplomacy, where the powers of the CIA and the Departments of State and Defense overlap and blur. The area is also inhabited by the overt and covert representatives of a variety of nations and multinational corporations. His boss was either Allen or John Foster. Or both. Or neither. Most of the time, it didn't seem to matter. After one bureaucratic snarl, Eveland writes that "Allen Dulles' solution was simple: I was to draft a State Department telegram.... He would then have his brother sign and send it."

Eveland worked in the Middle East during a crucial period in the region's history: the first crumbling of British control. In 1952, Egyptian officers led by Nasser overthrew the monarchy of King Farouk and began an

anti-imperialist foreign policy. Britain's friendly ruler in Jordan, King Abdullah (King Hussein's grandfather), was assassinated in Jerusalem for his pro-Western stance. And the cornerstone of British hegemony in the area, Iraq, began to build toward revolution in the early '50s. In 1958, the British would be

overthrown in Iraq.

Seeing their oil reserves in the Gulf threatened, the British grew particularly desperate and belligerent. Agents of British intelligence (the legendary M-16) and British diplomats called for coups against the governments of Syria, Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

"Oil, simply, is our policy," one British diplomat told Eveland. When the Shah was overthrown in 1953, striking at the heart of Britain's economic interests in the area, a combination of CIA and M-16 agents financed, organized and armed a successful coup that restored the Shah to power in Tehran.

Eveland began his Middle East career against this backdrop of high anxiety for the British. For John Foster Dulles, the bogeyman wasn't Arab nationalism: it was international communism. Eveland was sent to Damascus, Syria, to find ways "to stem the leftist drift." From 1952 to '57, he was part of the diplomatic process at its highest levels, meeting the presidents of Lebanon, Syria and Exxon, the King of Jordan, the Shah of Iran and a host of journalists and "oil company ambassadors."

*Ropes of Sand* contains a few bombshells: a hitherto unreported coup attempt in Syria (1956), heavy financing of parliamentary elections in Lebanon (1957), and some very close cooperation between CIA, State, Exxon and Aramco on a bid to build a refinery in Syria.

## Bag man.

Eveland carried a half-million Syrian pounds across the Lebanese-Syrian border in the trunk of his car during the 1956 attempted coup. To his horror, he realized that his colleagues in the Beirut CIA office had neglected to provide him with a diplomatic passport. He wasn't searched.

The coup ended in total disaster. No one had bothered to inform Eveland that Israel and Britain were mounting the Suez

invasion against Egypt that same day. As Mikhail Bey Ilyan, the U.S.-picked leader of the coup, later lamented to Eveland from exile in Turkey, "How could you have asked us to overthrow our government at the exact moment when Israel started a war?"

A year later, Eveland found himself as a bagman again, this time in Beirut, financing parliamentary candidates chosen by Lebanon's President Camille Chamoun: "I travelled regularly to the presidential palace with a briefcase full of Lebanese

## Eveland helped buy a Lebanese election and finance an attempted coup in Syria for the CIA.

pounds, then returned late at night with an empty tin case I'd carried away from Harvey Armado's CIA Finance Office people to replenish. Soon my gold DeSoto with its stark white top was a common sight outside the palace." The role of American money was so blatant that two pro-Chamoun election observers resigned halfway through the election period. Chamoun's candidates won.

Eveland's narrative is also studded with minor gems: Kermit Roosevelt, the architect of the coup that returned the Shah to power, also represented Northrup in the Middle East. Or NSC 5401, a National Security Council directive, which Eveland called "the only unambiguous policy we had for the Near East, South Asia and Africa." NSC

5401 calls for the total military destruction of the Persian Gulf oil fields in the event that Soviet forces threaten to capture them.

## Lessons.

Beyond the bombshells and the minor gems, *Ropes of Sand* provides insight into the background of diplomacy and intelligence work. We learn about the growth of the U.S. intelligence establishment, about the curious dovetailing of CIA and State interests under the Dulles brothers, about the complex and powerful activities of the multinational oil companies and about the "revolving door," through which diplomats passed to lucrative oil industry jobs.

Eveland criticizes the closeness of State and CIA under the Dulleses, the "pro-Israel tilt" of our policy in the area, our unrealistic stance toward the Palestinian people, our failure to distinguish between "international communists" and home-grown socialists.

To his credit, Eveland was not a yes-man for the Dulleses; he was a loyalist. At John Foster's funeral, he tells us, "Tears came to my eyes as I realized how privileged I'd been to have met this man whose inflexible principles had both shaped world events and affected the lives of millions of people. Whether this had been good or bad didn't seem important."

During his Beirut tenure, Eveland met Walt Kelly, creator of *Pogo*. In his acknowledgments section, Eveland thanks him this way: "...and Walt Kelly, whose *Pogo* diagnosed the problem of which I write: 'We have met the enemy and he is us!'"

This is a wonderful book through which to meet the enemy. Frank Snepp's *Decent Interval*, Peter Wyden's *Bay of Pigs*, and Townsend Hoopes' *The Devil and John Foster Dulles* make excellent companion pieces.

Edward Gold is a Maryland writer and teacher.

## Short Notice

**Al Qalam (The Pen)**  
343 S. Dearborn, Chicago, IL 60604, \$18 a year, \$9 six months  
A new monthly publication that will deal with a single topic of importance each month, *Al Qalam* starts with an issue devoted to Malcolm X's life and death. Articles include: "Who assassinated Malcolm X?"; "His brilliant and anguished life"; and "Have two men spent 15 years in prison for a crime they did not commit?" JW

**Fine Tuning: A National Citizens Committee for Broad-**



**AL QALAM's premier issue**  
subject: Malcolm X

**casting Report on Noncommercial Radio**

1530 P St. NW, Washington, DC 20005, \$3, 42 pp.

This primer provides "background" on National Public Radio, of community non-NPR stations, independent radio production and a glossary of groups involved in noncommercial radio. All this is information the Nader group sees as influencing the question of what will happen to noncommercial radio as we enter the age of satellite delivery. PA

**Keeping Your Eye on Television**

By Les Brown, Pilgrim Press, 132 W. 31 St., NYC 10001, \$4.95, 84 pp.

This brief guide to the issues of the public's interest in public and in network TV provides useful facts and—even more useful—cogent, well-phrased arguments in defense of citizen activism around media issues. From the author of *TV: The Business Behind the Box*, who was the *New York Times* TV critic. PA

**Pissarro: His Life and Work**

By Ralph E. Shikes and Paula Harper, Horizon Press, 362 pp. \$24.95

This first-rate biography of the radical Jewish painter Camille

Pissarro is a beautifully designed book featuring over 200 superb illustrations, a score of them in full color. Pissarro, sometimes dismissed as an imitative pastoral painter of second rank, emerges in these pages as a major innovator whom Cezanne rightly called the "first Impressionist." The authors make sensitive use of unpublished letters in detailing Pissarro's relationships with fellow artists, including Degas, Cezanne, Gauguin, Monet and van Gogh, and with political radicals. A sympathetic chapter treats Pissarro's commitment to anarchism, and satirical political drawings stud the text. DRR

**Crossing Over: A Vietnam Journal**

By Richard Currey, Applewood Press, Box 2870, Cambridge, MA 02139, 46 pp. \$3.95

Based on the journals of Currey, four years a Navy corpsman in Vietnam, *Crossing Over* is a polished work of short fiction in which terse prose and occasional free verse capture the pain and confusion of what was euphemistically called a "tour of duty" in Southeast Asia. Deep human feeling infuses this account of death and slow rebirth as does a quiet but powerful anti-war spirit. DRR

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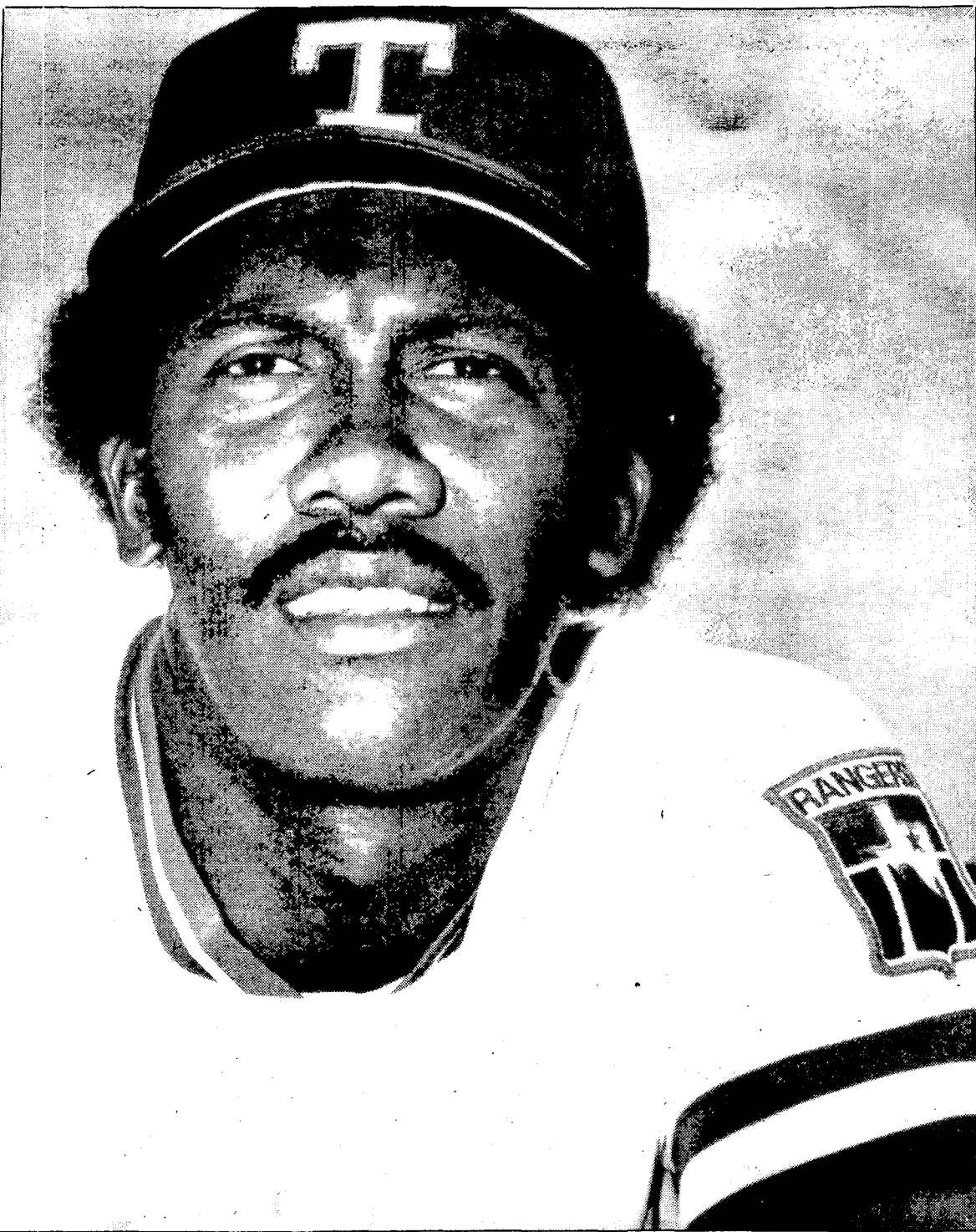
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Ferguson Jenkins faces the most serious repercussions of his drug charges from the baseball commissioner.

## SPORTS

# Drugs and the hero

By Rick Ridder

There is a propensity among "summertime" baseball fans to focus only upon the contests between the pennant contenders, and to dismiss the late season bouts between mid- and low-standing ballclubs as irrelevant at worst and perfunctory at best.

The faithful, though, are at these games. The heroes of summer are approachable now. They have been humanized by their performance record. The ballplayers chatter along the sidelines about duck hunting, goin' home, and even baseball. They are free with their words; there is nothing to hide when you are 27 games out with 26 to play.

Some are free with their actions, and at times it brings joy, and at times it brings regret. For Ferguson Jenkins, it brought regret.

Ferguson Jenkins expected his suitcases to be with the suitcases of the other members of the Texas Rangers. But his suitcase and the suitcases of five other Rangers were misplaced from Texas by the airlines. So when his suitcase arrived in Toronto Aug. 25 it was not provided the "no search" treatment by customs agents normally accorded professional athletes' bags traveling with their teams.

Jenkins was arrested as he was shagging flies at the ball park and informed that Canadian customs agents found \$500 worth of illegal narcotics in his luggage. There were four grams

of cocaine, two ounces of marijuana and two grams of hashish. He was arraigned two days later on charges of "simple possession" of illegal drugs. The trial date for Jenkins, a Canadian citizen, was set for Dec. 18.

Jenkins, who won 20 games in seven out of eight years, up until now has been a virtual shoe-in for baseball's Hall of Fame. Additionally, he was named Canadian Athlete of the Year in 1974, and last year he received the Order of Canada, the highest civilian honor in that country.

The issue, both temporarily and ultimately, has been and will be decided by Baseball Commissioner Bowie Kuhn. Kuhn temporarily suspended with pay Jenkins on Sept. 8 for refusing to cooperate with the Commissioner's investigation of the alleged drug possession. As Jenkins' lawyer, Edward Greenspan, put it, "His [Kuhn's] decision is devoid of any fairness, decency, justice and rationale. He doesn't respect one of the basic lessons of law, and that is the right of a client to remain silent before any tribunal or hearing before his trial."

Kuhn's quick hook was surprising in that it was expected that Kuhn would not act until after the December trial. Indeed, Kuhn in his suspension letter to Jenkins wrote, "While I am, of course, disturbed by pendency of drug charges against you, I am prepared to defer further proceedings by this office in that regard until they have been concluded." But as a result of Jenkins' lack of cooperation,

Kuhn thought it "fair" that Jenkins be out of uniform until he is willing to talk to the Commissioner's investigators.

The Major League Player's Association quickly filed a grievance over Kuhn's action, but any redress would not come until after the end of the season.

Kuhn's decision may also be considered hasty in that if he had done nothing at all, it would keep the problem of drug use by ballplayers off the sports pages, as well as provide Kuhn time to decide how to proceed if Jenkins is found guilty. With drug use widespread among athletes, future arrests of athletes for drugs are almost certain. How Kuhn acts in the Jenkins affair will begin to mold the precedents for future drug cases not only in baseball, but will guide other sport commissioners in their drug cases.

If Kuhn bars Jenkins from baseball for life, as some have suggested, he will be placing baseball's standards far above society's. To some extent Kuhn can find a precedent for such action. Famed Baseball Commissioner Judge Mountain Kenesaw Landis banned eight Chicago White Sox from baseball in the Black Sox scandal of 1919 despite all eight receiving not guilty verdicts. However, public outcry for their suspensions was intense.

Public outcry over Jenkins' alleged transgression has been substantial but by no means overwhelming. This moderated reaction may be a result of the

public's growing awareness of drug usage by athletes, and sentiment that Jenkins should not be unduly condemned for possession of substances so readily found among his peers.

Kuhn has a more difficult situation. If in an attempt to make Jenkins an example to other possible offenders, he suspends Jenkins for life for the misdemeanor, how does that square with giving George Steinbrenner a one-year suspension for his conviction on a felony charge for illegal campaign gifts? Instead, Jenkins will probably be convicted on a misdemeanor, Kuhn will suspend Jenkins for two months of next season, and

Jenkins will return telling the world he hasn't touched anything but aspirin since August of 1980.

The Commissioner's action will not stop drug usage in baseball or in any other sport. However, there will be team bag searches now at international airports. But that will be the next effect of the Jenkins affair on the national sport, because baseball will not ask, "If the person who received the highest civilian award in Canada is using drugs, what could the bench-jockey be doing?" Maybe he isn't just thinking about duck hunting, goin' home and baseball. ■

## RADIO

# Unions find all ad dollars are not equal

By Robert Spaulding

"We don't want to become involved in what is strictly an internal labor-management dispute. We're sorry but we can't accept your ads."

That statement by the manager of radio station WOOK in Washington, D.C., cut short the efforts of a local union to take their message directly to workers via the airwaves in an organizing campaign.

Broadcast advertising is once again being recognized by union organizers as an effective means of building support. But resistance from the conservative broadcasting industry has been sharp, and promises to remain a major stumbling block. Station managers exercise complete control over what ads are aired, and they are using that discretion to reject union spots at an alarming rate.

"Yeah, there has been resistance," one union organizer said. "Radio has ties with industries that have a stake in keeping out unions."

The ads rejected by WOOK were eventually aired on another station, but the representation election at a local meat distribution company was lost by only eight votes. "Some people said that the ads they heard were convincing," an observer said, adding that airing the ads on WOOK might well have made the critical difference. That particular station was especially important because it was played during work hours at the company.

The ads rejected by the station were straightforward: "If you work at Murray Steaks, listen to this. The law is on your side. You have the right to a union. With a union, you can get better vacations, make better wages and get better dental and medical benefits. A union can help you get them all. So vote for the Meat Cutters Local 593. Vote yes on Jan. 26."

Why do stations turn away advertising customers when those customers are unions? Aren't broadcasters eager to accept advertising dollars at any time?

Normally, the answer to that last question is yes. But the more direct the union message, the greater the difficulty in getting it aired. Advertising that is not directed to specific organizing campaigns, like the well known "Look for the Union Label" campaign of the International Ladies Garment Workers (ILGWU), or the excellent national

media campaign by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), runs into less difficulty. The stakes are higher for national campaigns in terms of advertising sales and profits, and the message is clearly perceived as less of a threat. Large advertising agencies handling the accounts—J. Walter Thompson, in AFSCME's case—make a difference as well.

Much of the new and productive use of the broadcast media is in this form of institutional advertising, and more union ads than ever before are going on the air. The nature and content of those ads, however, are clearly affected. Unions frequently have to avoid direct organizing ads in exchange for less pointed, informative ads.

"It's not a question of what you prefer, but what you can get on the air," the head of one international's communications department comments.

Tactically, many prefer the less direct approach. "Our strategy is not to put on things that are combative," he adds, citing the dual purpose of most ads in reaching both workers (potentially new members) and the general public for public relations purposes.

In some places, where only one or two stations exist, the question of access is critical. The Federal Communications Commission does not regulate the selection of advertising by stations except in a few special circumstances. (Political advertising is subject to the Equal Time Rule, and controversial issues of public importance are covered by the Fairness Doctrine, requiring a "balanced" presentation of both sides of the issue.)

In some cases, unions have fought back. Last year, the Food and Beverage Trades Department, AFL-CIO, filed a petition to deny the license renewal of two Alabama TV stations, WHNT-TV and WSLA-TV, when they refused to air spots supporting the two-year-old boycott of Winn-Dixie supermarkets, a large anti-union retailer in the South. In this case, the conflict of interest was explicit: a member of the board of directors of Winn-Dixie owned a substantial share of both stations. The petition to deny was initially turned down by the FCC, but is under appeal. ■ Robert Spaulding is the former editor for the AFL-CIO's Food and Beverage Trades Department.



# Frustration of youth in '70s Italy

By Diana Johnstone

Everything went wrong in the '70s. In their latest film, Paolo and Vittorio Taviani approach the universal debacle through three idealistic young Italians defeated in their aspirations to share love and creative work. It is the tragedy of a generation unable to change the public world or even the private world of personal relationships, a generation that seems to have run up against some invisible barrier to human progress, like the sound barrier or the speed of light. Noble projects collapse without anyone even understanding why. For this predicament, the Taviani brothers find the image (and their film's title) of *Il Prato*, the meadow, where nature at first appears relatively tamed, but turns out to be crawling with bugs and little beasts slaughtering, devouring and rotting just beneath the surface.

Filmed in and around the medieval Tuscan town of San Gimignano, *Il Prato* is crammed with symbols, which tend to outweigh plot and character development. Still, the characters come across due to the personal warmth of the actors, not-

ably Isabella Rossellini (daughter of Ingrid Bergman and Roberto Rossellini) as Eugenia. The Tavianis can be heavy-handed, as when they parody ecological idealism as nostalgia for a fairytale world, where Eugenia as Pied Piper leads the children she has been trying to initiate into self-expression.

But whatever its shortcomings, *Il Prato* is an important film. It conveys something of what it is like to be 20 years old in Italy after the failure of the left.

Eugenia has a degree in anthropology, but, unable to find work in her field, commutes to a dull file clerk job in a tax office. She lives with Enzo (Michele Placido), a graduate agronomist who wants to take over an abandoned hillside in Tuscany for an ecological farming commune. While Enzo is away, Eugenia meets Giovanni (Saverio Marconi), who falls in love with her. In principle, they believe love should be generous, not possessive, that Eugenia should be free to love them both. In practice, it doesn't work. Meanwhile, local property-owners defeat Enzo's commune before it even gets going, and he is forced to take a job wrapping gift packages in a department store. Par-



Isabella Rossellini

ents snatch back their children from Eugenia's little theatrical group. Enzo and Eugenia do not belong to the generation of the '60s, who could combine normal careers with political activism. They are children of the '70s, ready to live communism directly, but trapped in a society that rejects their generosity and their talents.

Giovanni suffers from a failure of vocation that is more subtle but related. He wanted to make films. Instead he works as

a lawyer handling several cases at once in an overcrowded, understaffed, chaotic government legal aid office. His father, a biologist happy in his work, urges Giovanni to do what he wants, even offering him money. But Giovanni doesn't believe he has the right to be special, to express his sensibility as an artist, any more than he has the right to take Eugenia away from Enzo—even if his very life depends on it. Giovanni says he has (unlike Enzo) left the "great collective illusions" behind him. But passage through that vision of a generous world, that exhilarating sense of shared human purpose, has permanently destroyed the contrary illusions that feed competitive individualism and personal ambition. The best of the generation that has lost hope of achieving the communist ethic is still unable to go back to a capitalist ethic.

The blockage is characteristic of Italy today, and so are the different ways the trio react to it. Giovanni, portrayed as most lucid (at least, it is his point of view that dominates), gives up. Enzo, driven by the need to give meaning to life, tends to regress into childish outbursts of fear and anger. As usual in Italian cinema, it is the woman whose sense of preserving life is the strongest. Eugenia decides to try a fresh start by going to Algeria. (Many young Italians in the wake of revolutionary hope are starting over, by having children or going abroad.)

All Taviani films deal with the baroque themes of dreams and awakening, illusions and disillusion. *Allonsanfan* and *San Michele Aveva un Gallo*

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both portrayed revolutionary illusions and disillusion of earlier periods. The latter, practically buried alive under its cumbersome and misleading title, was the bitter fable of a romantic 19th-century anarchist whose imagination and spiritual force sustain him through a decade of solitary confinement only to bring him face to face with a younger generation of Marxist revolutionaries who have nothing but scorn for his unscientific approach to the masses. With *Il Prato* the Taviani brothers bring the generational shifts up to date—and this time it is the Marxists' children (or great-grandchildren) who wreck the hopes of their elders. As if to underscore the irony, the Tavianis cast Giulio Brogi, the anarchist of *San Michele*, as Giovanni's biologist father in *Il Prato*, a conventional Marxist (in Italian terms) who is given the ordeal of seeing hope die with his son's generation. His science and technology can do nothing. The injustice of it moves him to want to revolt, but what is the sense of revolt without progeny? The dialectic process has jammed, and the contradictions, instead of jumping leapfrog ahead, cancel each other out in indecipherable confusion.

The meadow of the title is compared, through allusion to a Rossellini film, *Germania Anno Zero*, to the ruins of Berlin at the end of World War II. The despair of Berlin followed a grandiose fantasy of domination that ended in total destruction. The despair in *Il Prato*, on the contrary, is the impasse of a generous fantasy before something strangely incurable in life itself.

The most successful scenes in *Il Prato* are neither fantasy nor reality, but fleeting moments of drowsiness when Giovanni, or Eugenia, lingers on the border between dream and awakening, unsure which is which. Dozing off at the end of a happy day in the countryside, Giovanni perceives such a harmony in the gestures of the peasants around him that he imagines he understands "what it is like to conduct an orchestra." The Tavianis' most acclaimed film *Padre Padrone*, portrayed the awakening of a poor Sardinian shepherd, almost miraculously pulled by language, by culture, out of primeval bestiality towards civilization.

In the seemingly relentless pessimism of the Taviani brothers, there is perhaps this paradoxical glimmer of hope: even the most civilized among us have only begun to emerge from our long animal sleep.

It is Eugenia who voices this hope. When everything goes wrong, and mysterious impulses tear apart people who should have come together, she asks, in a dream, Is there nothing to do? And answers, "Yes, wake up." ■



When Dad attacks Mom, he loses the prerogatives of the patriarch.

## The pretty good Santini

By Pat Aufderheide

*The Great Santini* doesn't have to be great—it isn't—to be a welcome, refreshing movie. It's a family drama about the price of modern patriarchy—*Father Knows Best* meets *The Big Red One* and there are casualties on both sides.

Robert Duvall, in a good, tight performance, is the manic Marine colonel "Bull" Meecham (a.k.a. "The Great Santini") who tells his troops to look on him as God and expects his family to do the same. His main problem is that, at a moment of career disappointment, his son—the son of "God"—is growing up, challenging his supremacy at the same time as he commands the father's adoration.

The film's rendition of 1962 is more than technically accurate (which it also is—you'd probably mercifully forgotten some of those furniture lines and brand names). The family style is also true to the aspirations of the time. Enthusiastically Cath-

olic Mom (Blythe Danner) gallantly organizes her household as a mini-version of the world. She organizes group sings; she sews and cooks and prays; she constantly translates her ebulliently authoritarian husband to her children, her servant, his colleagues; she tries to be as much the force of kindness and feeling in their mini-society as he is the embodiment of aggressive action.

What the movie succeeds in is this: it convinces us not only of the cruelty and violence in this claustrophobic family structure, but also of likeable aspects of the characters. Their weaknesses are not indictments, but they are parts of a much bigger system of belief, one that involves issues like why we fought in Vietnam and that lives on in the next generation. That's why the ending is both touching and depressing—the son steps into his father's role, with both its authoritarian and its benevolent aspects.

Too bad that this evocation of real-life tensions in domestic life doesn't extend to the movie's

treatment of race relations. A sentimental liberalism bleeds all over the screen in the subplot, which concerns gentle, flower-loving Toomer (Stan Shaw), son of the Meecham's maid and friend of the Meecham son—who violates Dad's orders to look for Toomer when he gets word that a vicious cracker is out hunting for the black man. Inevitably, Toomer's death becomes the vehicle for a face-down between father and son. The suffering black man gives the white boy the gift of freedom. (Is it enough to point out that the author of *Conrack* wrote the book on which this screenplay is based?)

But this is the major area where *The Great Santini* lapses into TV-movie style social-issue porn—that is, using a social issue as a hook on which to hang a traditional melodrama. Otherwise it's an interesting, modest but thoughtful exploration of our ideas about family and sex roles. What's most poignant is that so much harm can be done by people trying so hard to be good. ■

## CULTURE SHOCK

### WELL, HEY!

The *Washington Star* has provided the last-ditch case for the gas guzzler. With its large gas tank, it can move a family 250 miles from the site of a

nuclear attack. And if they get stuck in traffic, its heavy body provides protection from fallout.

### POST-LITERATE SHOPPING

The Sears, Roebuck

and Co. catalog is going on TV, through a deal with Warner Amex Cable Corporation. The new high-tech catalog will feature live-action commercials rather than still photographs.





# History

Continued from page 17.

Union gave Social Revolutionaries a critical leadership role. In the heavily native and Irish Knights of Labor, however, they were hounded out for being anarchists.

Anarchism is commonly confused with many things it is not. It is not chaos, rugged individualism or violence. These were the features of the existing order that anarchists condemned. Rather, anarchists stood for unremitting opposition to constituted authority and aimed at a society without police, judges, prisons, armies or kings; in short, without a state. The Social Revolutionaries' goal of a self-governing community of equal producers had something in common with the labor reformers' cooperative commonwealth, but the resemblance ended there.

Anarchists put down the reformers' faith in the ballot as a miserable delusion. This rejection of the ballot as "the sum total of all humbugs" was one reason the appeal of the Social Revolutionaries was limited. Another was their call for armed self-defense and the distortions of their views on violence. American anarchists actually committed few violent deeds, but they did study the *Science of Revolutionary Warfare* and exhort the unemployed to learn the use of explosives, with little more result than to encourage the stereotype of the anarchist as a bearded, half-crazed conspirator skulking about with dynamite bombs stuffed in his coat pockets.

The anarchist doctrine of "propaganda by the deed," originated by Russian nobleman Peter Kropotkin, was enacted in Europe with bombs, knives and revolvers on a string of princes and monarchs from Spain to Russia. It reached the U.S. with a botched attempt on the life of Henry Clay Frick and the assassination of President McKinley in 1901. In the poorer regions of Europe, the intellectual's doctrine of violence against the state combined with the peasant's violence against landlords to give anarchism a popular base in the emerging labor movement. In the U.S., however, despite vigilantism, lynch-law, and high homicide rates, the doctrine ran up against a widespread feeling that the republic belonged to the people. Violence against its symbols and leaders tended to deprive anarchists of support.

The revolutionary movement of this period climaxed in the May 1886 strike for the eight-hour day. Nothing like it had ever been seen before. Upwards of a quarter of a million workers took part, beginning May 1, in actions that com-

bined the spontaneity of insurrectionary crowds with the discipline of industrial organization. Reaching the proportions of a nationwide general strike, it was the most significant American contribution to the international working class. This event is commemorated in May Day. As first-rate agitators, the Social Revolutionaries came into their own in this heady atmosphere of mass protest. Their influence multiplied far beyond their numbers, and they found themselves—like the Industrial Workers of the World, in textile strikes 25 years later, and the Communist Party in the Congress of Industrial Organizations of the 1930s—leading masses of people who were not in sympathy with their revolutionary aims.

On the fourth day of the 1886 strike a bomb was thrown into a detachment of police who were dispersing a peaceable crowd listening to speeches in Chicago's Haymarket Square. Business and civic leaders immediately charged that the dead policemen were victims of propaganda of the deed and called for anarchist blood. Later, the trial of eight anarchists became a travesty of justice. Although convicted of murder, no evidence was introduced to show the defendants had either thrown a bomb (some were not even at the scene) or told someone else to do it. The actual perpetrator was never produced in court.

Nevertheless, four were hanged, including the two most prominent Social Revolutionaries in Chicago, August Spies and Albert Parsons. With the state behaving the way anarchist theory said it would, their movement might have been expected to gain strength. Instead, it disappeared within a year. Having ridden the crest of the eight-hour strike, it went down with it.

## Independent political action.

Independent political action addressed the same post-1877 conditions, but through the electoral process. Built on the Knights of Labor's proselytizing of the antimonopoly philosophy, independent political action sought to put a distinct working-class program on the political agenda. The two major parties had turned their backs on labor goals, including an eight-hour law with teeth, abolition of the truck system, government ownership of transportation and communication, and municipal ownership of street railways and public works. This strategy conceded the virtue of the electoral process while going beyond the mere election of incorruptible candidates to insist on the enactment of pro-labor laws and policies. It was represented by a string of new parties—socialist, farmer-labor, workingmen—culminating in the United Labor Party of 1886.

Outside the ranks of socialists and anarchists, for whom the enemy was capi-

talism, the labor movement defined the enemy as monopoly—bank capital, corporate finance, and big business of any sort. Labor's most radical demand was government ownership of the railroads, which, as the leading capitalist institutions of the day, stood atop a pyramid of investment in mining, communication, manufacturing and real estate. The role of the banks was to be curtailed by substituting Greenbacks for private currency. Great wealth was to be repossessed by an income tax. Land speculators and absentee owners would have their property confiscated with land titles going only to actual settlers.

Antimonopoly was behind several third-party campaigns. The Greenback-Labor Party inaugurated the fight for a peoples' money in 1878. Gathering a million votes two years later, the party reorganized for a less successful effort in 1884 under the People's Party label.

The most significant of these third parties was the United Labor Party of 1886. It was a remarkable coalition of all the main currents of the labor movement—labor reformers from the Knights of Labor, trade unionists like Samuel Gompers of the newly-formed American Federation of Labor, socialists, diehard Greenbackers, eight-hour men, and the Single Tax followers of Henry George, who headed the ticket in New York. This unaccustomed unity was imposed on the movement by the special conditions of the moment—the strike wave, the major parties' subservience to plutocracy, the judicial lynching of the Haymarket anarchists, the assassination of strikers by Gould's mercenary army—all of which momentarily fused the inchoate class consciousness of American workers into a unified movement.

The ULP did not do badly for a first try—George came in second, ahead of Theodore Roosevelt. But after the election the various tendencies quickly fell to squabbling. George declared unequiv-

ocally against socialism, Gompers repudiated independent political action and turned non-partisan, and the Socialist Labor Party regretted its temporary antimonopoly indiscretion. For the time being, independent political action was dead. But it had gone further toward giving the democratic process a working-class content than any of its predecessors, and it left its mark on the future. The "gas and water socialism" of the 1890s enacted ULP platforms. The Sherman Anti-trust Act was a victory for the antimonopoly principle, though a pyrrhic one—its first use was against the American Railway Union, not a railroad trust. The Populist Party took up the fight against monopoly and passed it to the next generation.

## Conclusion.

The 19th-century labor movement reached its peak in the mid-1880s. By no coincidence, that was when it pressed its claims against capital through independent political action. By comparison, the non-partisan strategy of Powderly was the timidity of immaturity, while the nonpartisan stance of Gompers was the timidity of weakness.

Working-class politics in these years was a response to exclusion from power. As President Cleveland's use of troops to break the railroad strike of 1894 showed, labor had no influence in Washington. Not until the New Deal would workers join another grand coalition like the Republican Party during the Civil War, which would give them access to the highest circles of power.

In the meantime, the movement tried other strategies. Reward your friends and punish your enemies became the hallmark of the AFL. Independent working-class politics was taken up by the Socialist Party. Antimonopoly was adopted by several farmer-labor groups.

Alan Dawley is co-editor of this series and is author of *Class and Community*.

## CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for two insertions and \$10.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Bill Rehm.

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### CHICAGO, IL

#### September 29

THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT'S SECOND CITY SOCIALIST SCHOOL begins its fall semester of courses. Courses include Basic Marxism, Religion and Socialism, Socialist Feminism, Political Economy of Chicago and Motherhood. Call 871-7700 for more information.

#### October 2-December 11

SOCIALIST-FEMINIST STUDY & WORK GROUP. Blazing Star NAM invites women to join us in discussing socialist feminism and in working to pressure the media to present more positive images of women and lesbians. Initial session features presentation on socialist-feminism by ITT columnist Roberta Lynch at 7:30 p.m. Thursday, Oct. 2, at 3342 N. Broadway. For more info leave message for Hannah at 924-5057.

#### October 6

"FEMINISM, CHRISTIANITY AND COMMUNISM IN ITALY," a talk by Giglia Tedesco, a Communist senator in the Italian Parliament. At noon at Garret Evangelical Theological Seminary, 2121 Sheridan, Evanston; and at 7:00 p.m. at McCormick, 5555 South Woodlawn, Chicago.

### PITTSBURGH, PA

#### October 10-12

NATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE FOR SAFE ENERGY AND FULL EMPLOYMENT. Sponsored by 6 AFL-CIO Unions—the Machinists, Chemical Workers, Graphic Arts, Service Employees, Woodworkers and Furniture Workers—as well as the UAW, Mineworkers, Longshoremen and Warehousemen, and the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, this conference will seek to educate and activate the trade union movement in the struggle for safe energy and full employment. \$15 Registration. Any trade unionist welcome. Contact: Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, 1536 16th St. N.W., Washington, DC 20036. (202)265-7190.

### NEW YORK, NY

#### September 26

"KNOWLEDGE OF OTHER SOCIETIES: THE CASE OF ISLAM," a talk by Edward Said. Friday evening at 7:30 p.m. at John Jay College, 445 W. 59th St., NYC. Admission is \$2.00.

### ANN ARBOR, MI

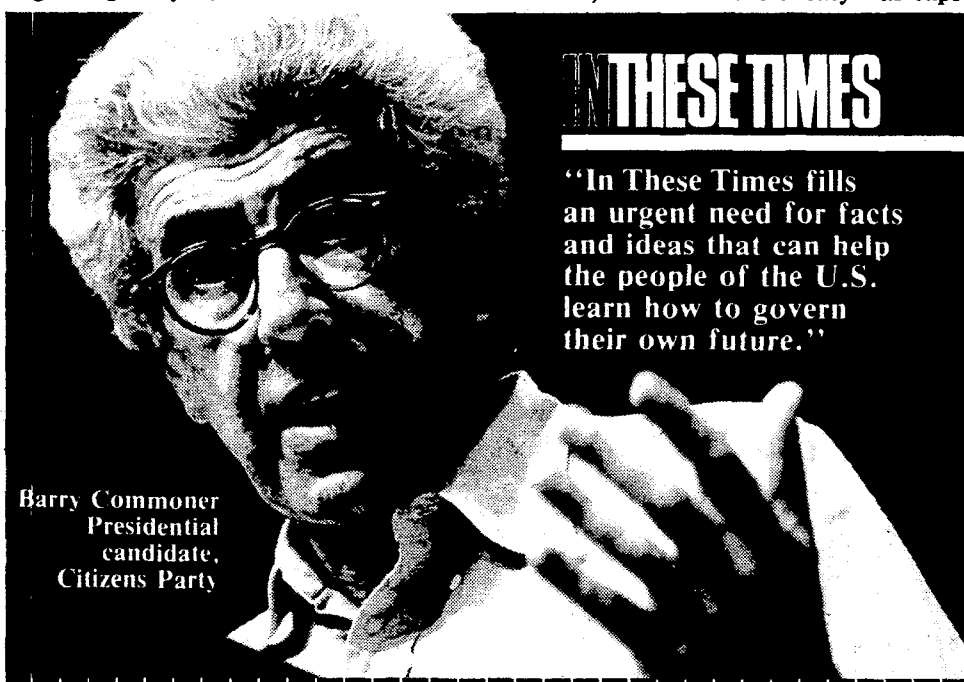
#### September 26-27

THE FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON WORKERS CULTURE. Workers, union officials, scholars and artists will discuss what workers' culture is, demonstrate historical and current examples in various media and suggest directions for the future. Participants will include Brendan Sexton, Paul Buhle, Ralph Fasanella, Stanley Aronowitz, Archie Green, Sarah Ogan Gunning, Joyce Kornbluth and Carlos Arce. For more information call (313) 764-6395.

### CHIPPEWA FALLS, WI

#### September 26-28

THE CITIZENS PARTY OF WISCONSIN 1st STATE CONVENTION will be held at the Farmers' Union's Kamp Kenwood. The purpose of this convention is to lay the foundation for a new grassroots, broad-based, political movement that will build economic democracy in Wisconsin. Workshops on issues ranging from runaway shops, labor and politics, uranium mining, economic crisis, solar energy, racism and repression, democratic-socialist-feminism, and regional corporate power. Speakers include: Tom O'Connell, Eugene Havens, Al Gedicks, Roger Bybee, Anne Gordon, Gary Edelman, Monte Bute, Marilyn Clement, George Daltsman, Art Heitzer, Rob Kennedy, Ian Harris and Mary Radke. Also, organizing for Commoner-Harris campaign, literature, political music, food, lodging, childcare and films. Cost: \$15.00. For information call Madison (608) 257-7068; Milwaukee (414) 444-4744; Stevens Points (715) 341-8257;



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# Shogun

Continued from page 24.

Catholic lady Mariko, are not present with him to turn Japanese into English for our benefit, we can only watch: watch the somber samurai assemblies and processions. Watch the arguments between powerful feudal lords, their armor covered with gold brocades. Watch the eyes or the trembling hands.

The problem is not that the intricate mechanics of Clavell's political plot are simplified—they had to be. The problem is that Japanese decor, Japanese decorum and excellent Japanese acting fuse into a single image of spectacular power and high culture. This image substitutes for politics just as the gesture is made to substitute for the intricacies of understandable language. Clavell's Toranaga is capable of irony about his cultural forms because he knows how to use them. Bercovici's—Mifune—is, like all the other Japanese, an exemplar of them.

Meanwhile, it's not to be wondered at that the globe-girdling Europeans loom larger in the mini-series than in the novel. After all, they can talk to us. English stands in for Dutch, Portuguese and the lovers' Latin. There is no language barrier in the Western camp!

Photographer Andrew Laszlo, who uses depth-of-field to expand the tube like it's never been expanded before, sets up a number of shots with a Jesuit interpreter and Blackthorne in close-up and

well-composed assemblages of Japanese people and green Japanese scenery in the middle and far distances. The effect is to make Europe loom over Japan much as Blackthorne's psychology and destiny preside over the story. Japanese characters like Lady Ochiba, a powerful presence in the novel, are flattened into observers of Blackthorne.

Without arguing with Bercovici or asking for a teleplay he never intended, we can ask: What is *Shogun* authentic about? Or rather, since the National Education Association has approved the show and published a study guide for high-school students, let's ask: What sort of authentic knowledge does it give us? Well—careful, detailed images of Japanese culture at a particular time, and through these an idea of how the Japanese like to imagine their own history. Confirmation of the pivotal role of the European in the destiny of Asia. The chance to see a short tea ceremony. A vision of gorgeous power and repose. Great TV in the widest and narrowest senses.

What Clavell intuited, on the other hand, was that the history of Japan in 1600 can also show something of the stress that war and money can put on a millennial culture, and what ironies are available when this happens. That's another authenticity and another mode of knowing about the world. Maybe it's the next step in Blackthorne's education, maybe the first episode of *Shogun II*, to premiere after NBC extends Silverman's contract.

Jon Spayde is a writer, translator and student of Japanese literature.

# Books

Continued from page 19.

## Inequality in an Age of Decline

By Paul Blumberg, Oxford University Press, 290 pp., \$15.95

The ponderous title hardly reflects the content of the uneven but generally witty and incisive book. Blumberg's theme is the effect of economic stagnation on the American dream, but he detours often to give capsulized criticisms of most aspects of our culture. A long introductory essay on class in the U.S. is brilliant in everything but its conclusions. **DRR**

**The Enemy Among Us: A Story of Witch-Hunting in the McCarthy Era**  
By Frank Rowe, Cougar Books, Sacramento, CA 95822, 157 pp., \$5.95

Rowe, an art instructor fired from San Francisco State College in 1950 for refusing to sign the anticommunist Levering Oath, has produced a moving account of the Cold War inquisition in California universities. Mixing reminiscence with research, Rowe's work succeeds as both solid history and passionate memoir. The author's woodcuts illustrate the text and the late Carey McWilliams provides a graceful introduction. **DRR**

Contributors: Pat Aufderheide, David Roediger, James Weinstein.

## BILLBOARDS



Thanks to Robert Stayton of Santa Cruz. Seen any good ones lately? Send them in.

## CLASSIFIED

### PUBLICATIONS

**CITIZENS FOR SPACE DEMILITARIZATION**, a national grassroots citizens group which opposes development of destabilizing weapons systems for outer space that violate arms control treaties. **SPACE FOR ALL PEOPLE**, CFSD's bi-monthly publication, analyzes development of space technology from a progressive, internationalist political perspective. Current issue features articles on planned U.S. laser battle stations in space and first Vietnamese cosmonaut. Send \$1.00 for sample copy and more information or \$10.00 for one year membership. CFSD, 1476 California, #9, San Francisco, CA 94109.

**MANUAL FOR MIDWIVES**. Step-by-step instructions for natural home birth. \$9.95 Postpaid. Plymouth Press-IT, Box 390205, Miami, FL 33119.

### HELP WANTED

**ADMINISTRATOR / FUNDRAISER** for national organization dealing with science and progressive political change. Responsibilities: general administration, bookkeeping, nat'l coordination, outreach & magazine promotion. Salary: \$9000 & benefits. Minorities and women encouraged to apply. Deadline Sept. 22. Include skills, interests, & political experience in resume/letter to: Science for the People, 897 Main St., Cambridge, MA 02139.

**WIN MAGAZINE** seeks new collective member to typeset and manage typesetting shop. Some editing. Commitment to nonviolence and feminism essential. Type 50 wpm. \$125/week. Send letter and resume to: Staff Search, WIN, 328 Livingston St., Brooklyn, NY 11217. No calls please.

**COMMUNITY ORGANIZERS**. ACORN needs organizers to work with low and moderate income families in 20 states for political and economic justice. Direct action on neighborhood deterioration, utility rates, taxes, health care, redlining, etc. Tangible results and enduring rewards—long hours and low pay. Training provided. Contact: Kaye Jaeger, ACORN, 117 Spring, Syracuse, NY 13208. (315) 476-0162.

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duces public affairs programming for public, community radio station for Dayton, OH area. For more information call Mark Mericle (513) 864-2022. Applications by Oct. 10 to WYSO-FM, Yellow Springs, OH 45387.

### POSITION AVAILABLE

**WASHINGTON-BASED** public interest group has positions available for researchers/writers to work on extensive study of the control of resources on federal lands, to organize a conference on excessive legal fees, and to assist in forming a progressive business association. Applicants must have experience in journalism, especially in researching corporate power and the federal government. A background in economics and law is highly desirable. Opportunities for freelance work. Salary: \$6,500-\$9,000. Send writing sample and resume to: George Riley, P.O. Box 19312, Washington, DC 20036.

**MANAGER**—Consumer Food Co-op in Northwest Philadelphia. \$1.2 million annual sales. Experienced in coops or small business. Supervisory experience. Salary negotiable. Equal Opportunity Employer. Send resume to Bud Cook, Search Committee, 131 E. Durham St., Phila., PA 19119.

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**"REAGAN FOR SHAH!"** Send SASE for literature, plus \$1.00 each for buttons, bumperstickers to: Reagan for Shah Committee, 1600 Woolsey, Box 71T, Berkeley, CA 94703.

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By Jon Spayde

# Disorienting

## SHOGUN

**I**N NBC'S MAMMOTH MINI-series *Shogun*, the feudal lord Toranaga (Yoshiko Mifune) has by now confounded his enemies and maybe even aided Fred Silverman in his bid to become Absolute Power of Prime Time. While it's too early to predict what effect the 12 hours of *Shogun* will have on the outcome of the network war, perhaps it is timely to reflect on the effect it was intended to have on us.

*Shogun* was, first of all, "TV." All the production and particularly the art direction, costuming and photography, testified to a level of expense and expertise without precedent in the brief history of the mini-series on American TV. Producer Eric Bercovici, who also wrote the teleplay from James Clavell's novel of a shipwrecked Englishman in Japan of 1600, faced, we are told, agonies of cross-cultural misunderstanding during nine months of location filming in Japan. In fact, the glossy Paramount promotional book *The Making of James Clavell's SHOGUN* draws a parallel between Blackthorne (Richard Chamberlain), castaway in an alien country on the verge of civil war and swarming with unscrupulous Jesuits and brutal samurai, and Bercovici's American production company adrift in the complexities of Japanese studio practices and etiquette.

Whatever problems there may have been, they did not affect the performances. Some of Japan's best TV and film actors (including Yoko Shimada and the comic Frankie Sakai, well-cast against type) turned in nicely-nuanced work under American direction, and veterans like Michael Hordern were on hand to give their Elizabethan-era roles the right aura of the BBC and the Old Vic.

But above all, the hallmark of the series was *authenticity*. When Bercovici brought his teleplay to Japan, he arranged to have a Jap-



Samurai, Yokohama.  
FELIX BEATO, Photographer

anese historical-cultural advisers to over it from beginning to end, correcting inaccuracies. The advisers and the Japanese art director and costume designer, corrected Clavell again and again on points of detail. Clavell's fanciful Japanese names were here and there turned into plausible ones, and in place of the novelist's vague, inaccurate or anachronistic descriptions of hair styles, clothing and weapons, we got to see the best work of the Japanese studios.

As most of us knew even before the premiere, Bercovici chose not to subtitle the Japanese, even in scenes between Japanese characters. This, of course, was intended to be the boldest and most comprehensive display of authenticity in the whole production. What could be *true* than Japanese speaking Japanese? Certainly Bercovici didn't want his TV spectacular to look like a Japanese movie, nor, one supposes, did he want the visual texture of his beautiful frames disrupted.

The decision is closely related to the most important departure that Bercovici made from the Clavell novel: he decided to tell the story from the point of view of Blackthorne. The Japanese language is incomprehensible to us, no less so to him.

The story Clavell tells in his 1,200 pages is based on the climax of the greatest struggle for power in Japanese history, the warfare that ended with the ascendancy of Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1600 and the establishment of an authoritarian feudal state that endured for 268 years. Blackthorne's prototype is the English navigator Will Adams, who served as a military and naval adviser to Ieyasu, and later travelled to the Philippines and Portuguese India under the Tokugawa flag. Into the tale Clavell introduces Portuguese traders and their Jesuit allies, who were indeed factors in Ieyasu's politics, and a well-born lady, Blackthorne's lover, who appears to have no historical basis.

Clavell makes an engaging armchair image of Japanese civilization, compounded in part of a great number of our favorite Teahouse-of-the-August-Moon clichés. When he cozies up to "the Japanese mind" in cultural affairs, he is likely to make his characters talk like participants in a Werner Erhard seminar: "How beautiful life is and how sad! How fleeting, with no past and no future, only a limitless Now." There is also healthy sexual frankness, mixed bathing, the putting-off of shoes at the door, and the attempt to Be At Peace ("Watch the rock grow," Blackthorne is advised at one point).

The ambitions, tactics, ruses and successes of Lord Toranaga are at the center of the novel, and Clavell explores the dubious relationships between the cultural rituals of feudal vassalage—the bows, the presentations of scrolls, the professions of loyalty—and the realities of power, strategy and ambition. Clavell trains his readers to observe ritual suspiciously, and to situate social formulas within an intricate political situation.

In the light of what he did *not* take from Clavell, we might evaluate Bercovici's authenticity. Without subtitles, all communication has to be carried on through gestures and objects, and in employing both Bercovici gets some of his best effects. Blackthorne's first culture-shock is the Japanese bow. He learns to bow back when it becomes clear to him that nothing else will release his servants from their prostration. Another good if gruesome touch is the juxtaposition of the torture and death of a Dutch sailor in a boiling cauldron with Blackthorne's first Japanese bath.

The opacity of language and the focus on Blackthorne combine to make interpretation a constant dramatic problem. Where bilingual Jesuits or their Japanese converts, or Blackthorne's lover the

*Continued on page 23.*